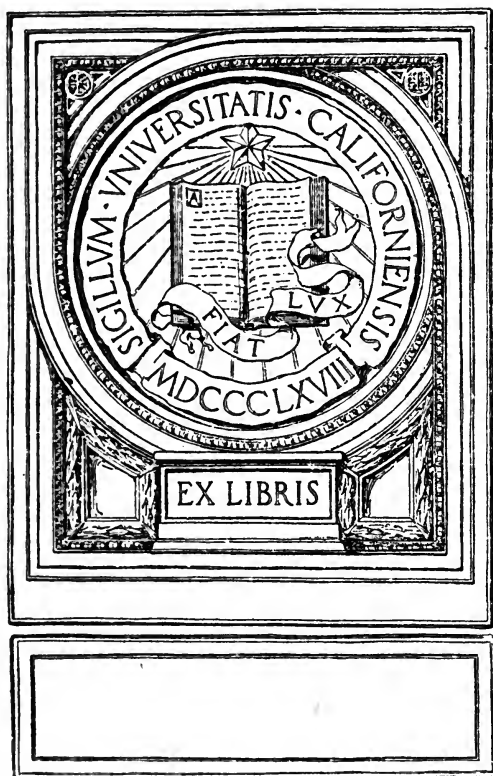


THE RELIGIOUS LIFE  
*OF THE*  
ANGLO-SAXON RACE

M·V·B·KNOX





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# THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE ANGLO-SAXON RACE

BY

M. V. B. KNOX

Author of "A Summer's Saunterings," "A Legend of  
Schroon Lake," "A Winter in India  
and Malaysia," etc.

"If it be true that nothing human can be without  
interest for a man, surely that which tells of the re-  
ligious belief of our forefathers must be of deepest  
and nearest interest. It had something to do in mak-  
ing us what we are."

*J. M. Kemble*



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TO  
MY WIFE

281429



**“The roots of the present lie deep  
in the past, and nothing is dead to  
the man who would learn how the  
present comes to be what it is.”**

**Stubb's “Constitutional  
History of England.”**





## PREFATORY NOTE

The religious life comes of man's relation to the great Creator. On that relation depends highest worth to the individual and in the aggregate, to the nation. Man is a religious being whether found in barbarian wilds or in the whirl of modern civilization. His religion has always had much to do in shaping his progress. The savage depends upon his fetich, the civilized man upon the word of the seers. Doubtless God in some way answers the cry of all his children no matter by what means they try to approach him.

The Anglo-Saxons have all along been most devout. The first glimpses of these people show them to have been highly religious, with a spirit most independent and stubborn and on their coming to Britain these peculiarities and other valuable ones were steadily developed. With willingness to work or to fight, with an aggressive instinct keenly alive to opportunities, having a language well adapted to human needs, and later with an open Bible, it is no wonder that they became great and powerful.

It is the purpose of this work to trace the forces of the religious life that have aided the English-speaking race to become so mighty and successful. It will be shown how in various fields of its civilization these forces have been present and active. Many means besides the distinctly church beliefs and practices have helped in that elevation. At the first the

## PREFATORY NOTE

Anglo-Saxon was a faithful servant of Woden as later he became obedient to Christ.

This work is not another church history. Yet as the denominations have shown the religious life, or have neglected it, their history has been asked to yield its testimony. Wide search in various fields of racial life has been made in order to trace as much as possible the active principles leading upward, ever present and forceful. As the twentieth century is passing it is pleasing to note that the religious life so constructive through the ages, now more unbound than at any previous epoch, is a mightier force than ever in fashioning that noblest of all endeavor, exalted manhood and womanhood.

**THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE ANGLO-  
SAXON RACE.**



## CHAPTER I<sup>1</sup>

From the beginning the Anglo-Saxons in England showed in a marked degree the strong elements of character that since have made them great. This mighty race, wherever located, now plays an important part in the world's best progress. Long before obtaining a foothold in Britain, the three closely related tribes finally forming the first permanent settlement, had harassed under the name of Saxons the coast of Britain from the Wash to Southampton, compelling a line of fortifications to be erected by the Roman occupants, and a fleet to be sustained under command of the Count of the Saxon shore.

The homeland of the Angles, Saxons and Jutes on the continent compelled a life of poverty and struggle. Their surroundings and life made them hardy, brave, and venturesome. Natural selection going on most actively under such conditions would leave alive those strong of limb and body, as well as brave of heart.

They had learned better than any partly civilized people known the high worth of woman, and were not slow in showing it, for they gave her a prominent place in managing domestic affairs, as also a place in their councils and even in their warlike expeditions. They prized chastity, the high qualities attributed to the Germans by Tacitus being found in the tribes settling in Britain. Whether on the con-

tinient or in Britain they were truly religious. Having settled in Britain they conducted the worship of Woden, Thor, and other gods, with temples erected to them. Following the Latin term, our ancestors of that period are often spoken of as barbarians. Their social and intellectual position, to be sure, was much behind that of Rome and Constantinople, but a people with considerable laws put into constant practice, using some of the Greek alphabet as runes, capable of forming extensive leagues both to resist the aggressive Romans and to make wide conquests by land and sea, cultivating the soil, having domesticated animals, and mounting large bodies of cavalry for battle, facile in the use of iron, originating poetry and myths of no mean order, having a religious system with idols, priests, mysteries, were no mean barbarians.

The free spirit which in the racial progress has given rise to parliaments and a constitutional monarchy, to a written constitution and a federated republic, can be detected in those venturesome, vindictive freebooters that caused fear along the Saxon shore, and later at Ebbsfleet. Free churches have come of the same spirit. A contemporary said of them that a boat-load would all command and all obey at the same time. Never was the neck of the long-haired Saxon put beneath the yoke. They were free men. Covetous of the country so much better than their own dreary land, they persisted through the centuries, undaunted by the wide and dangerous German ocean, unbeaten by the stubborn Britons who incessantly resisted conquest, another

generation, when one had perished, carrying forward the remorseless purpose. A sense of destiny or duty seemed to pervade them.

The part played by Pope Gregory in Christianizing Britain must in the affections of the converted race ever cover that man's memory with a halo of glory. His glowing determination followed up to lead the conquerors of Britain to Christ can never be forgotten. The group of English slaves seen by him in the market of Rome, formed by their marvelous physical beauty a Macedonian call in the heart of Gregory. He then determined that those pagan Angles must be made truly angels, their land, Deira, should be freed from the wrath of God, abiding in its very name, their king, Ælla, should be caused to hear the Alleluias of redeemed souls. Hindered himself from going to them and elected pope, he was in a better position still to effect their evangelization. In selecting the monk Augustine to lead the mission to Britain he was fortunate, since the planting by his hand and by his judicious administration was never wholly uprooted.

Again Ebbsfleet in Kent was the point where the landfall occurred which was the second time to revolutionize Britain by the Anglo-Saxon race. Augustine and his forty monks were bringing a new religion, a new life, a new civilization. A woman, as often in the history of that people, was a beneficent aid to better things. Bertha, the French princess, married to the king of Kent, clasped hands across a century and a half with Rowena, the daughter of

Hengist. Each helped prepare the way for Anglo-Saxon supremacy. Bertha, as one condition of becoming the wife of the Kentish king, was to have Christian worship in her new home. For this purpose an old British church at Canterbury, the capital, was restored from its ruins, and her own bishop, Luidhard, conducted services in it. Her influence upon her husband might have given him a leaning toward Christianity. Probably her representation to Gregory of an inviting field in Kent came to the pope as a renewal of the Macedonian call heard years before.

The rather spectacular meeting of Ethelbert and Augustine, when chanting a litany he came with his forty monks in procession bearing a painted Christ aloft, must have created a strange impression in the king, whose usual meeting with strangers was that of battle ax and battle cry. The claim of the missionary through Gallic interpreters that he had come to tell the king and his people of a better way of life and for an existence forever with the true God after this life, must have seemed strange to Ethelbert when the usual message of strangers coming into his territory was that of defiance and conflict. The uncertainty of having to do with an unknown people, the fear of magical arts if audience was granted the new comers in the church or in any building, led the king to appoint the first meeting under an oak as if to seek protection from the sacred tree of the Druids.

Ethelbert's answer to Augustine was politic and cautious, since he said their words and promises



were fair but new and that he could not forsake the faith of his fathers and of the whole English nation. But he would give the missionaries a place to live in, he said, protection, food, and permission to make as many converts among his subjects as they could. He assigned them a residence in Canterbury and the church of St. Martin's, already opened for the Queen's services they used for public worship. Their devotion, abstemious habits and alluring doctrines led many of the people to forsake their old gods, and the king also, after a few months, professed adherence to the God of his Queen. His conversion was the signal for a great movement toward the new way among the nobles and other people of rank, so that on Christmas-tide following their arrival in August the missionaries baptized ten thousand converts. Much outward expression was made of this new faith in the kingdom, for great gifts were bestowed by the king upon Augustine and his co-workers. Ethelbert's own palace at Reculver and a site near it for a church were given. Old British churches were renovated and occupied, new ones built, and converts gathered in all parts of the little kingdom. Ethelbert, though urged by the pope to force the new religion upon his people, would not do it, already seeing that advance in Christian evangelization was best made by argument and persuasion. He counted the converts as Christian brethren, being very affectionate toward them, thus setting a gauge of fellowship and toleration that has run with less or greater success through all the church life of the race.

A hundred and fifty years had passed from the first irruption of the Anglo-Saxons and no effort had been made to teach them Christianity. The Britons, whom they were forcing back step by step, had been Christianized almost from apostolic time, but they made no effort to lead the Germanic invaders to Christ. So intense was the conflict between the two peoples, so vindictive and so destructive to life and property and institutions, that the Britons seem to have engendered the bitterest hatred and utmost repugnance toward them. Hence the opportunity offered the Britons to convert a great people to Christ was lost. Nor would they join with Augustine for the same noble service, thus losing a second opportunity.

Augustine and his monks brought with them the mustard seed of the parable in another way, the beginning of the vast possessions of books and libraries now the invaluable inheritance of the English-speaking people. These first books were a Bible, a book of the Martyrs, Apocrypha, Lives of the Apostles, and Exposition of certain Epistles and Gospels. It is significant that this earliest library among the Anglo-Saxons was a religious one.

Augustine referred certain questions to the pope. It was ordered that Augustine might select from the native customs of what seemed best for the English, only being certain they were pious and upright. No nearer marriages were to be contracted than the second remove of kinship, and no one was to take his stepmother or sister-in-law. The oversight of the native British church, still subsisting in the western

part of the island, not yet subdued by the invaders, was committed to Augustine by Gregory. But Augustine seems to have bungled, for in meeting the British clergy he peremptorily demanded that they should adopt the Roman date for observing Easter, different from their own; that they should follow the Roman mode of baptism and the tonsure, and join with him in converting the Anglo-Saxons. But these things they utterly refused. In a denunciatory manner Augustine consigned them to destruction. This curse seemed to be fulfilled a few years later when in a battle near Bangor the monks were praying for the success of the British arms and were slain by the hundred under the Anglo-Saxon battle-axes.

It was the purpose of Gregory to plot the island, making two archiepiscopal provinces, the seat of one at London, the other at York, dividing each province to twelve suffragan bishops. Both cities had the promise of much growth. But Augustine, now archbishop and well settled at Canterbury, seemed to prefer that city to London. Yet this city was soon made the head of a diocese, its king Seabert having been converted, and Mellitus, sent from Rome, made its bishop. He built a church, St. Paul's, on the site of a temple to Diana.

Paulinus in 625 was sent to York nominally as archbishop, but having to create his own province, for the only Christian in all his province was the Queen, who, a daughter of Ethelbert and Bertha, went to Northumbria a wife of Edwin the king on conditions similar to those of her mother, having an

attendant priest and the privilege of Christian worship. Along with these men and a few others to aid Augustine helps were sent by Gregory for the ceremonialism so prominent in all the Anglo-Saxon period, vestments, ornaments, relics of apostle and martyr, vessels for the churches and more invaluable books.

It was decided that the temples of the old worship should not be destroyed but cleaned of idols, sanctified by holy water, and having relics of the saints placed in them, should be used as Christian churches. In place of bloody offerings and heathen rites performed at those temples, the people were to kill cattle and feast upon them about the buildings now made churches, having their hearts filled with thankfulness to the Giver of all benefits.

Gregory was greatly elated with this mission, all the more that this people were counted as the most savage and ferocious of all the Germanic peoples. He wrote a letter to Ethelbert, calling him his own son, and finally urging him to seek the conversion of his people by a spotless life, by exhorting, soothing, correcting them. He was to give them an example of good works, assured that the story of his deeds in this matter would spread over all the earth. In a similar strain he wrote to Bertha, congratulating her, and suggesting if she had not used her extraordinary opportunities to the best advantage, still in the present success she would be highly commended.

As the work expanded the pope granted Justus, then archbishop, the right to ordain bishops for that expansion. Their first attempt for the conversion

of Northumbria came from Kent. Edwin, the king of that country, desired Ethelberga, the daughter of Ethelbert, for his wife, but this her brother Eadbald refused unless Edwin would favorably consider becoming a Christian and permit a priest to accompany the princess to his court. These conditions being acquiesced in she was married to him. Edwin had been greatly impressed in a supposed vision while in exile to adopt Christianity. He now promised to become a Christian if an expedition against Wessex was successful. The expedition of Edwin was all he hoped for, yet he hesitated to turn Christian. Finally the king calling together his wise men laid the question of a change before them. At the meeting of the Witan the high priest of the old faith was first to speak, saying that their old gods could not be of much power since he himself had served them with all devotion, but that he had received fewer favors than many others less devout. If the promise of honors from the new God was better, he was in favor of adopting the new faith. More sensible was the speech of an aged thegn who said that the life of man was like what they had seen in their halls of feasting, a sparrow flying in from the night outside, flitting about for a few moments, and then flying out of the other door into the darkness. If the new religion could tell whence man came and whither he went, he wished to adopt it. It was finally decided by the Witan to forsake the old and accept the new. At once Edwin and his nobles and many others were baptized. It is said that no less than ten thousand were in one day baptized in the

Swale, entering the water two by two, each plunging the other under water.

Paulinus, the Queen's priest, now saw the first fruits of his long waiting and unwearied labors. When preaching the new way, one of his journeys among the Cheviots was no less than thirty-six days in length, teaching and catechizing the people who flocked to him. His labors must have been prodigious and tireless since they extended over all parts of the north country. However, the religious life reached by his converts must have been slight, the first short steps towards the new way. Edwin put up a stone church at York in place of the mean one of wattles and mud previously put up for the worship by the Queen and her priest. The curious visitor at Yorkminster to-day is shown beneath this magnificent pile the remnants of Anglo-Saxon stonework foundations of the structure erected twelve hundred years ago under the impulse of the earnest Paulinus.

Edwin, as Britwaldar, after his conversion became an active helper in reaching those not yet adopting Christianity. Through his influence Earpwald, King of the East Angles, and his people accepted the new faith. In Edwin's time the saying arose that a woman with her new born babe on her bosom could walk unharmed from sea to sea. The beneficent spirit of the king was shown in having brazen dippers hung beside all the springs in his domains for thirsty travelers to drink.

Penda, king of Mercia in mid-Britain, was still a most vigorous representation of the old faith.

He joined with Cadwalla, the Christian king of the Welsh, in an attack upon Edwin, causing his defeat and death. With the death of Edwin the nascent church fostered by him was all but ruined, for those hardy warriors could not well comprehend the worth of a religion whose deity did not protect its believers from destruction by those whose belief represented the gods of their former faith. Northumbria being devastated by Penda and Cadwalla, Paulinus and the widow of Edwin fled back to Kent. However, Paulinus left a missionary at York, James, a subordinate cleric, who successfully held together some of the Christians, secretly teaching and baptizing such as he could induce to remain steadfast or could lead to the new faith.

Later Penda attacked Wessex, whose king and people had recently become Christians, which seemed enough to lead the pagan warrior to go against that kingdom. Not yet satisfied, Penda pushed his victorious arms against the East Angles. Their king, Segebert, weary with the wars and reigning, had abdicated the throne some time before, and had retired to a monastery for seclusion and devotion, but on the approach of the terrible Penda was taken by the people and put at the head of the army since they thought he could better lead them than his son. With only a wand instead of a sword the king did the best he could, but the superb generalship of Penda prevailed and Segebert was slain with many of his people.

## CHAPTER II

The part played by the Celtic missionaries in the conversion of the northern part of England was most noble. Owing to some intestine conflicts the Prince of Bernicia fled to the Scots, and at the monastery of Iona being taught the Christian doctrine, accepted it. On his return to govern his kingdom he brought missionaries with him, but the leader of the band, not being a success, deserted his post and returned to Iona. Recounting his experiences among the Northumbrians, he was asked by one of the chapter if he had not attempted to feed those weak ones with strong meat instead of milk as babes. This spirit was caught by the chapter as marking the speaker, Aidan, providentially for the same mission.

Coming to King Oswald he was granted the inhospitable island of Lindisfarne, where he built a monastery. From this central station Aidan and his fellow workers went over all Northumbria from the Tyne to the Humber, preaching, teaching, baptizing. As more monks were needed the hive at Iona sent them out to help Aidan. The people flocked together to hear and learn, churches were built, money and lands were given by the king to build monasteries as multiplied centers of evangelization. The Scriptures were diligently studied by these priests, who also urged the people to read them. These Celtic monks following their home station in



fasting and in distributing to the poor, never grew rich, and the monasteries were but poor and meanly furnished. Oswald caught the spirit of his great teachers for one day, so the story goes, when feasting with Aidan present, the servitor handing the king a silver dish told him that a street full of poor were begging alms. He then refused the food, sending it to the suffering ones outside, and also broke the silver bowl into fragments and sent them for distribution as money among the people.

The kings in the little kingdoms mostly led in accepting Christianity. Birinus, a spirited continental monk, going to the pope for appointment to mission work was assigned to the extremest western regions, but finding Wessex still heathen, stopped for work in that kingdom. The king, Cynegils, accepting the new way was baptized, the devout Oswald from Northumbria was present, encouraging the royal neophyte and took the daughter of Cynegils back to Northumbria as his wife. On the success of Birinus the Scotie missionaries flocked from the north to help him, and a bishopric was set up at Dorchester. Mostly under the labors of these monks from the north the work went on. By the beginning of the ninth century the house of Cedric, in Egbert, controlled all the kingdoms. His son, Ethelwulf set up a system of tithes, establishing the "Church of England."

Mercia, as well as the other kingdoms, must have the gospel light. Peada, a son of the pagan Penda, being granted some share of the government of his father, sought the daughter of Oswald in marriage

but was refused unless he would become a Christian, and be baptized. When on the marital embassy to Northampton he listened to the statement of Christian truth, the promise of an heavenly inheritance, the resurrection of the body, the immortality of the soul, he declared he would become a Christian even though denied the hand of Elfleda, and so with his retinue was baptized. Returning to Mercia he took with him four priests, one Scot and three English, whose preaching led many of the nobles and common people to accept baptism. Even Penda did not obstruct this movement, but astute man of affairs as he was, insisted that those receiving the new teachings should live up to them, heartily despising those who did not, saying that they were contemptible and wretched who did not obey their God in whom they believed. A bishopric was set up, Diuma, a Scot, being made bishop. In time Mercia became very rich in monasteries, churches, priories and abbeys.

By the death of Penda the last great opponent of Christianity perished. Oswald of Northumbria finding that Penda devised an attack upon his people, offered that formidable warrior presents as tribute, but these being refused Oswald bravely determined to meet the foe though with a much inferior force. Making a vow to bestow grounds for twelve monasteries if successful, and to dedicate his daughter of but a year to the sacred life of a nun, he fought the battle of Wenevid utterly defeating Penda and killing him.

After Milletus was driven away from Essex the East Saxons remained joined to their idols forty

years, when their king, called Sigebert the Little, visiting Oswald in a familiar manner was led to accept Christ by Oswald drawing a contrast between the wooden idols of the old cult and the eternal Creator and supreme Ruler of the Universe. He and his retinue were baptized. On his return to Essex he took two priests with him, and of these Cedd, after the two had been most successful in making converts and building churches, was raised to the place of bishop.

Cedd was led by Oswald to build a monastery as a special place of that king's devotions, and where buried he might have the benefit of the special prayers of the holy men in the monastery. Cedd chose a place among some craggy hills deeming he could make it holy by praying there during all Lent and by fasting every day until evening. He finally died in the monastery of the plague, and thirty of his East Anglican disciples, seeking the privilege of becoming monks in the place where their beloved bishop had died, all fell victims to the direful scourge.

All the petty kingdoms had now been converted except Sussex. Only a little group of Celtic missionaries had entered it, and they met poor success. Nearly a hundred years had passed since Augustine had landed at Ebbsfleet. But Wilfred, being expelled from Northumbria fled to Sussex, and teaching Christianity led many of the people to accept that faith. Ethelwalch, their king, having sometime before visited Northumbria, had forsaken the idols and possibly Wilfred had there become ac-

quainted with him. The people of Sussex, with their king a Christian, and the noble Wilfred preaching to them, forsook the old way and by the thousand were baptized by the devout missionaries.

The Isle of Selsey was given to Wilfred by Ethelwalch, and on it a monastery was soon built. Families to the number of eighty-seven lived on the island whose slaves, two hundred and fifty, were set free. Thus Wilfred preceded Wilberforce and Lincoln by a millennium. Five years before the king of Wessex ravaging Sussex made a vow to Heaven that he would bestow one-fourth of his conquests upon the church, and the Isle of Wight falling into his hands he fulfilled the vow by granting it to Wilfred. Two royal youths who had fled from Wight were betrayed to Coedwalla, the South Saxon king, and doomed to death, but he did have compassion enough to permit Cynebert, an abbot, to teach them Christianity and baptize them before the murder, so that these two poor princes can be thought of as the first fruits of Christianity in that beautiful isle.

Thus the Anglo-Saxons were converted to the Christian religion and the island was regarded as a Christian country by the papacy. It was the first of the Germanic people well settled to accept the new faith. Ulfilas had led only a wandering tribe to Christ. As the Roman Empire was decaying its vast power became more and more centered in the Emperors, as the senate and officials of every grade lost the power held by them before. Into the place of these deposed men the clergy stepped. As the wreck and confusion increased these churchmen

seemed providentially to meet the needs of the times, introducing a beneficent control of matters and a direction of progress that were touched by a kinder spirit than the old ways, since they ruled more by persuasion and high example than by brutal force common in that age.

In the despair of the Roman people the Christians were alone hopeful, being confident of the care of the Heavenly Father, and with assurance of blessed life after this one, were not in despair regarding life here. Even when monasteries and churches were destroyed the clergy remained to be rallying centers for renewed efforts. In those dreadful centuries the church was the most permanent institution, and its clergy were set to meet the most important demands arising amidst the confusion. Princes used them as envoys. Christianity met those incoming hordes of strong Teutonic peoples in England, finally leading them all to that faith.

But to the student of history it brings a pang of regret that in the contact of Christianity with heathenism it lost a degree of its simplicity and apostolic purity. Sometimes the sayings of the Fathers were substituted for those of the Master. Some of the clergy had deteriorated, ignorance as a plague prevailed, crimes even that chill the blood were not unknown among them, imposture was practiced in reputed miracles, the bishops clutched riches and power, and growing away from the people often assumed a state and dominancy far alien from the gentle Galilean.

While these excrescences and others upon the

church were injurious to it, they were not fatal. It offered many ameliorations of spirit and material conditions. The missionaries brought to the Anglo-Saxon a larger, better knowledge of industries, setting at work higher social and economic conditions of their converts. This influence in the interminable wars among the little kingdoms was mostly for peace and amity. The weak were protected, the poor relieved, the slaves set free. The monasteries were the places of agricultural industry, seats of learning, and they possessed about all the literature and literary spirit of the times.

The missionaries found a Germanic people almost untouched by extraneous influences, who had during the centuries in England developed their racial peculiarities by themselves. Into such strong soil the seeds of the gospel fell. No attempt was made to gain converts by the sword. Not one Anglo-Saxon prince did the part of Charlemagne with the Old Saxons. Those deep-souled pagans in the Octarchy were not insensible to the grand truths of the gospel. The new faith protected the lowly and lifted them up, threw a shielding hand over the weak, stood stoutly against the aggressions of the lordly ones, all of which aided in gaining a hold upon the affections of the people.

The conversion of the island was not cataclysmic. Nearly three generations passed before it was accomplished. Even then many of the old customs and beliefs remained, the use of charms, amulets, and incantations persisted among the people, while some of the pagan festivals, slightly changed and given a

new name, were carried forward. The Celtic part of the west, thronging in at the north from Ireland through Iona, did most noble work. A larger share of England was led to the new faith by them—Northumbria, Mercia, Wessex, East Anglia, Essex in its second turning, and lastly Sussex, all owed their conversion mostly to those rare Celtic toilers.

Differences between the missionaries direct from Rome and those from the north were certain to arise. The form of the tonsure, the mode of baptism, the date of Easter, were some of those issues.

It was deemed best to seek a final adjustment of the matter and a conference at the call of Oswald met at the monastery of Whitby.

Scotland's three great bishops to Northumbria, Aidan, Finan, and Colman, whose labors covered thirty years, wrought a mighty revolution in the religious life in Northumbria and beyond. It seemed for a time as though these devoted missionaries would impose their high spirit upon all England. Their vows of poverty were kept, their travels over all the country were tireless, the hills and fens and the poor and ignorant were everywhere reached by their teaching and preaching. Even the head monastery at Lindisfarne was, during their time only a group of low, poor buildings, at which even the king as he came there to worship had to put up with the fare and entertainment of the abstemious monks. The whole care of those teachers, says Bede, was to serve God, not the world, to feed the soul, not the belly. A devotion to the needs of the people, and a persistent use of the limited op-

portunities in hand were most charming. Their high morality, their superb passion for humanity, their simple trust in the Heavenly Father, their deep knowledge of the Scriptures, and small reliance upon the papacy, combined to foretell a rich fruitage of noble Christian lives.

Students in great numbers, especially during the decades preceding the Conference of Whitby, flocked to Ireland from Northumbria and from other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. The schools established in that island were the best, doubtless, at that time in Europe, and thousands of young men from many parts went there as a result of the awaking of intellect caused by the acceptance of Christianity. Says a historian, "When continental Europe and even Britain were being submerged by hordes of pagan Teutons, Ireland, out of reach of those waves of paganism, was building up good schools, which for centuries were bright beacons of culture and Christianity." These various schools had hundreds of teachers and thousands of students. Then, besides these renowned places of enlightenment, local teachers, anchorites, were scattered throughout the country, each one attracting pupils to his lonely cell. All Ireland seemed a vast university. From these seats of culture monks and teachers by hundreds returned to England, often becoming potent factors in the conversion of their kindred. They did not stop with Christianizing the island but pushed across the narrow seas to the continent, hosts of them, both Celtic and Anglo-Saxon, doing heroic, martyr work in leading the



western moving people there to accept the new faith. The names of Columban, Gall, and Kilian, of Wilfred, Boniface, and Willibald, will always shine brightly in the annals of missionary zeal and self-sacrifice. For four centuries those schools were the glory of Ireland, and the labors of their students form a surprising chapter in the progress of those obscure centuries.

The prelates to this date, about 645, had all been foreigners but about this time several bishops were made of the English race. The pope determined to send to England for archbishop one who would be free from local animosities and the friction not wholly obliterated from the various dioceses. Theodore, a Greek from Tarsus, Cilicia, the native city of the Apostle Paul, was sent as archbishop of Canterbury, with Hadrian as a helper, whom indeed the pope chose for the principal place before naming Theodore, but who would not accept the high office, deeming himself unworthy of it. These two set ardently at work to correct the evils which had crept into the English church. Theodore soon visited all the territory held by the Anglo-Saxons, being the first archbishop whose sway was thus widely acknowledged. He and Hadrian set up a school at Canterbury to which many students flocked from all parts of the land. In this school were taught the Scriptures, and church rules, as also Latin and Greek, arithmetic, poetry and astronomy. Forty or fifty years afterwards, Bede knew some of these pupils of Hadrian and Theodore who could speak the Latin and Greek as readily as their own

English tongue. The labors of Theodore were more direction than construction, since he used his authority mostly to arrange the dioceses by which he gave form to the episcopate, and helped forward greatly the division of the country into parishes. In these matters his work is perpetuated to this day.

### CHAPTER III

With the increasing influence of the religious life great men began to arise who had determining force upon the whole life of the awakening Anglo-Saxon. The church instead of the royal families gave them to the world. Contemporary for some time with Theodore was Wilfred, a native of England. Beginning public life as a courtier, he changed his purpose at a time of dangerous sickness to that of the monastic life. After studying in England he went to Rome, spending a year in that center of culture and ecclesiastical life. Returning to England he was given land on which he founded the monastery of Ripon. Into this monastery the scholarly Wilfred was careful to put a library, one of the choice books being a copy of the Bible written on purple vellum in letters of gold. Being made bishop of Northumbria he sought his consecration in Gaul instead of accepting it from English prelates. His high spirit and ostentatious display of retinue and dress like a king, and priestly interference in the domestic matters of King Egfrid of Northumbria, caused intense opposition to him. Theodore, the archbishop, in Wilfred's absence, divided the Northumbrian diocese into three parts, consecrating bishops for each and appointing them to oversight. An appeal to Rome was vain and Wilfred fled to the South Saxons, leading many of them to the cross. Although he and Theodore had

much friction, that prelate before his death sought reconciliation with Wilfred. After a most remarkable life of toil, conflict, success, and high purpose, he died in the minster of St. Andrew, Orundle, of great age and honor.

Benedict Biscop, a companion of Wilfred to Rome when both were young, was used by Theodore in founding a school at Canterbury, later erecting the monastery at Wearmouth and one at Jarrow. Both were schools for priests, the latter to be immortalized by the life and work of the historian Bede. Biscop was ardent in teaching in his monasteries, bringing invaluable books from Rome for his libraries. He sought pictures also, and relics for his English houses. Though not a prelate his influence was wide and high, and his work in the scholarly line was nobly perpetuated in the Venerable Bede.

Another great man whose life lends luster to that age was Cuthbert, also of Northumbria. He was made abbot of Melrose, but his sense of responsibility was so high that it would not permit him to rot in his cloister, and he went out among the people of that locality, especially to the small villages and lonely mountain regions, preaching to the rustic population. Having been sent to Lindisfarne he there became a real anchorite, for, preparing a cell on a neighboring island, he built a wall about it so high that he could see out of it only upward toward the sky. In this place, made sacred by miracles, he spent his days in prayer and meditation. After serving two years as a

bishop he retired again to the islet Farne to meet the quiet end for which he looked. In the succeeding ages when the Danes were ravaging England, his sacred bones were hurried away from Lindisfarne, and after being carried here and there in a most remarkable pilgrimage, finally were deposited in Durham Cathedral, where they repose to-day.

During this period a great missionary spirit arose among the Anglo-Saxons similar to that a hundred years before among the Celts. Wilfred, on one of his journeys to Rome, was detained a winter in Friesland, where he led many of the nobles and others to accept Christianity. There is no evidence that these gains were preserved. About 690, Willibrord, an Englishman, with eleven companions went to the continent, visiting Pippin, Duke of Gaul, who had recently conquered the Frieslanders and who permitted Willibrord to go preaching among them. Two other English priests, brothers, called from their complexion White Hewald and Black Hewald, being seized with the same spirit, passed from Ireland to the continent in order to go among the Old Saxons. Stopping on the confines of that country, they were treacherously murdered by the village reeve, who suspected foul purposes on their part. Their bodies were secured by Pippin and buried in the church at Cologne.

While Willibrord went to Rome after relics and other aids to use in naming and consecrating his churches, his companions in Friesland selected one of their number, Swidbert, to go to Britain for consecration as bishop of the Frisians, and who return-

ing preached with success among the Boructuarians. After more years and more success among the Frisians, Willibrord was sent by Pippin to Rome, to be created archbishop of that people. Down to 739 this noble missionary toiled on, building churches, enlarging his work, and creating bishops.

The north of Holland was led to Christ by Adelbert of royal Northumbrian blood. Bavaria and Gueldres were also enlightened by Anglo-Saxon missionaries. But the one who is justly called the apostle of the Germans was Winfred, a West Saxon, better known by his later name, Boniface. Like so many engaged in this missionary movement to the continent, he was of gentle blood. Hearing of Willibrord's work, he joined him at Utrecht, diligently laboring with him three years, and was desired by Willibrord to remain and be his successor, but the ardent monk who had brought his commission to the Germans from Rome chose to push into the interior of that pagan country among the Hessians and Old Saxons. This was about 718. Through the varied limitations of native poverty, the stern climate and the caprices of the pagans, he persisted and saw thousands converted. Called to Rome he came back archbishop and made Mentz his headquarters. His authority also extended over the French clergy, among whom he introduced many sadly needed reforms. As his work expanded Boniface sent eager call to England for helpers, and they came, men and women, some of them to seal their devotion with their lives. Schools and monasteries were established and bishops con-

secrated. The monastery of Fulda stood as a noble companion of Luxeuil and St. Gall. Having grown to an old man, Boniface, burning for the salvation of other peoples, went among the West Frisians and when about to baptize a large company of converts, he and his companions were suddenly set upon by an armed band of natives and all slain. Seventeen years later, Willebad, a Northumbrian priest, landed at the very spot of this massacre, and being welcomed by the natives, was able to reach grandest results and turn the people almost totally to the new way. Besides this he pushed his labors beyond, to the Ems, Weser and Elbe. Later the same spirit impelled Anglo-Saxon missionaries to bring the people of Norway and Sweden to Christ, and later still, those of Denmark.

In accordance of the beliefs in miracles, visions and wonders, held at that time by the church in all parts of Europe, the early missionaries to England inculcated the belief in these providences, and by them the religious life was most deeply affected. Under their old cult the pagan Anglo-Saxons had been accustomed to look for prodigies and wonders, so that their minds were in receptive condition for the beliefs in them under the new faith. Augustine, as the test of his supremacy over the early British church, resorted to a miracle, healing a blind man, though suspiciously one of his own people. Pope Gregory warned Augustine against appealing too much to miracles. The great historian, Bede, who has given the world nearly all that is known of England in those early years, down to his death

in 731, placed the utmost confidence in those reputed wonders, recording them with a natural simplicity and unquestioning confidence that are most charming.

By the orders from Rome no church or monastery was deemed properly constituted unless it held some relics of the saints. However at a council of Colquith where representative churchmen were gathered from all parts of the country, it was decided, contrary to the Nicene Council, that a church could be consecrated without relics of the saint for whom it was named. A figure of the saint might be drawn upon the wall or on a board. The remains of the apostles were called upon to furnish vast quantities of relics, and the cross of Jesus was also most prolific. A gold key made from the chains of Peter and Paul was sent by the pope to the wife of Oswald, and the wonder is if the devout lady would not ask how those chains were changed to gold. Then as the sainted ones in England began dying off, their bodies and bones were most eagerly sought and carefully preserved, to give sanctity and miracle-working power to some foundation. The value set upon such uncanny relics can be surmised from the care of Cuthbert's miracle-working bones carried for years from one place to another by the devoted monks lest they should fall into the hands of the pagan Danes and be lost. The bones of Oswald, having been rescued from the battle field by his niece, were brought to the monastery of Bardney where they wrought many miracles, as did the dust from them. The fame of



these bones reached Ireland and Germany where relics of the sainted king were sought and used for their miraculous power.

Visions were common as well as miracles, and these were thought to be granted often in connection with the death of some one prominent in the church. The noble Chad deemed himself warned of approaching death in a vision of heavenly songs descending to the oratory of his cathedral at Lichfield. The burial place of the abbess was designated by a great light let down from heaven. As her death drew nigh, her assistant saw a radiant human body taken from the monastery and drawn up to heaven by golden cords. The lame and blind were healed at the grave of this abbess. While Edwin before coming to the throne of Northumbria was a fugitive, a tall old man laying his hand upon the discouraged king's head, assured him of his kingdom and called upon him, when his vision was fulfilled, to accept the faith of Christ.

It can be understood how the princes and nobles should, with their better information and wider contact with the great world, easily be turned from the worship of idols to the worship of the spiritual creator of the universe. But to the ignorant common people nominally following their leaders in the movement, many of the old ways clung most tenaciously. Even a king illustrated this who had an altar to Christ and one to Woden in the same temple. In place of the feasts under the old cult, joyous Christian festivals were encouraged. The horse slain as a sacrifice to the old gods was re-

placed by a bullock upon the meat of which the converted people feasted, thankful to the Great Giver of food and other blessings. The names of the week were shaped after the gods just deserted, and from an old worship of the sun and moon. The Easter festival probably took the place of a festival in honor of Eastre, a northern goddess. The holiday season was one of special jollity under the old ways and this was superseded by the Christmas and New Year festivals. A feast held at midsummer in honor of Baldur, one of the most beautiful conceptions of the northern mind, was replaced by that of St. John Baptist. This god in several ways prefigured Christ in his spotless character as well as in his death and resurrection. At times of great distress or danger it was not unknown that the people turned to their old divinities. When the yellow plague was causing dismay in Essex, King Sighere and his people with him relapsed to the old idols, and Juraman, Bishop of Lichfield, was sent there to win them back to Christianity. Some of the superstitions have persisted to the present, and even now many persons prefer to see the moon over the right shoulder instead of the left.

It was the glory of the early missionaries that they set up schools in which to educate the young. At all the great stations for evangelization schools at an early day were instituted, primarily indeed to make monks or nuns, but even that restricted object was a noble beginning of the culture of the race. Christianity was causing a superb uplift of the Anglo-Saxon mind. The example of Gaul,

lying so close to the island, told upon the education of the new converts. The Celtic monks, as they evangelized Northumbria and much of the country beyond, moved by the rich influence of the grand educational spirit in Ireland, everywhere established schools for the young people of England. The worth of these schools was seen in the great number of learned men that arose in the royal families and in the church, while the great intellectual epoch of Northumbria presents one of the brightest views of all the Anglo-Saxon period.

After yielding the high intellectual fruits so conspicuous through two or three generations, a sad mental decay set in that closed the epoch. It may be difficult to determine all the causes of this national decay, but some active forces can be seen, one being the accumulated enrichment of the monastic houses, in which the monks could live without the manual labor of the preceding generations, since they now used hired help, serfs, and even slaves, to do what was once their glory and elevating virtue. Then the whole of the Octarchy had been nominally converted, so that the pressing incentive ever present with the early monks as they were confronted by more or less defiant or unconquered paganism made less demand for the spirit of Augustine, Aidan and Wilfred. So many of the nobles and princes, as well as persons of lower grade had turned monks that Bede feared the necessary men would not be found in case of national danger to defend the realm, and this fear found good ground when later the stout Danes fell upon

decadent England. Alfred the Great was presaged. The intertribal wars, "the war of kites and crows," were the product rather than the cause of the decay, and yet those conflicts must have accelerated the downward slide. Along with this decadence came abandonment of schools, and the education even of the monks sank so low in the north, formerly so renowned for its learning, that few could render their Latin church service into the vernacular, and not one, Alfred somewhere says, could be found south of the Thames who could do that.

In the monasteries, in spite of their imperfections, through the four centuries and a half of the religious life previous to the Conquest, abode many principal elements of progress, in education and in other ways of man's higher nature. These institutions in the early Anglo-Saxon period, and through much of its course, must not be judged by what they became in later generations, or by what they were when after long centuries Henry Eighth suppressed them altogether as a menace to English civilization. At first they were stations of self-supporting missions similar to those established in the nineteenth century by some enthusiastic missionaries. They had long existed on the island before the advent of Augustine, and among the native Welsh and Scots and also in Ireland. They were founded everywhere on the continent. It was therefore no innovation for Augustine at once to begin their establishment. The monks were missionaries and must have a home.

The first thought of the missionaries would be

a house to cover them, and food and raiment. These they must principally obtain for themselves, hence the community was industrial as well as religious. Many of the early monks to England were from Italy and Gaul, where the various industries were much more advanced than in England, so that a portion of the benefits brought by them was an advance of industries. The debt due to those monks by the race for these gifts is a mighty one, for many industries that later have aided most in the financial supremacy of England were either taught in a better way by the monks or were first introduced by them. They drained marshes and coaxed the fens to produce most abundant crops, while sandy heaths blossomed under their touch. Roads were built by them, as well as bridges and dikes and canals, while havens for ships and light-houses to guide the sailors were the result of their foresight.

Even the foundations of the nuns were centers of industry, not alone in studies, since besides the lighter work of embroidery, sewing and housekeeping, they frequently were the scenes of agricultural activity, building and other heavy labors. A legend runs that Earswida, with the blood of both Hengist and Clovis in her veins, erecting a monastery at Folkstone was sought in marriage by a pagan suitor whose hopes her father encouraged. But she utterly refused the proposal. One day, so reads the story, the lover coming to press his suit, found her superintending the erection of the monastery, and in their discussions she challenged him

to secure by the help of his gods the lengthening of a rafter cut too short, and when he failed it was lengthened by her prayers.

Manual labor was made respectable, for before it was delegated to the lowest classes, but under the teaching and example of the monks became a heritage of the race. Thus Coelfrid, though noble born, a wide traveler and highly educated, became, at the monastery of Ripon, the baker to the chapter, conning his lessons while heating the oven. Benedict Biscop's cousin, Easterwine, a king's thegn, shared the labors of the monks in his monastery, working in the garden, kitchen and bake house as well as at threshing, winnowing and milking, and continued these labors after being elected abbot. These things were deemed spiritually meritorious. Then such examples of their nobles and of their spiritual teachers could not fail in exerting a widespread and beneficent influence upon the people generally. The showing of the Domesday Book is that the lands of church property were better cultivated than others. Lingard says that not more than one-sixth of the inmates of a monastic establishment were kept at religious duties, the others being busy at various industries, as husbandmen, mechanics, herdsmen, and at other labors. Soames says there were four branches of the monks. First, ordained, to minister in sacred things, permanently domesticated in a monastery. Second, anchorites or hermits, living sometimes with the others, again alone in a cell. Third, sarabaites, adopting tonsure, but not under the rule, living

three or four in a house by themselves, later degenerating to a reproach of the monastery. Fourth, wandering monks, claiming great sanctity, but lazy, vile hypocrites.

If a great debt is due the monks for industrial improvement brought by them to the Germanic people whom they were leading to the new faith, another debt is due them for their work in the literary field. In this they were both conservitors and producers. As Rome was the repository of the classics of Italy and Greece, it could not but hand them over to such students as the old monks were. Representing as these men did, amidst the decay of the empire, something of the new spirit of civilization, they kept alive in some degree the traditions of the love and respect for those old classics. As the monks scattered over western Europe, they carried Homer and Aristotle, Cicero and Vergil in the priceless manuscript form along with the Scriptures and missals to their new home. They preserved these classics and much other ancient literature from the destruction of the former civilization by the northern peoples.

Not only this, but they were the only historians through those periods of dismay and gloom, whose writings have come down to us. The chronicles, lives of saints, annals, histories full of impossible miracles and legends, are now of unspeakable worth to the historian. Had these various writings of the old monks not been preserved, the Middle Ages could, more truthfully than now, be called the dark ages. The nuns in some of the Anglo-Saxon monasteries,

true to their helpful natures, were often busy copying manuscripts, ornamenting them most exquisitely, nor did they stop with the mechanical part but learned letters to rich results, studying the classics, the Scriptures and the Fathers. Latin was a favorite with them, and in it they frequently carried on correspondence. They also pursued Greek, poetry and grammar.

Of vast moment to the religious life which the people were developing by the aid of the monks and the monasteries, was such study of the Scriptures as was followed in those foundations. The language in which their copies to study were written, was the Latin, though paraphrased into the vernacular and explained in it. In the early times the monks did much preaching, their most common themes being the Master and his teachings and miracles. Some of the monks like Bede put portions of the Scriptures into Anglo-Saxon speech, even that royal student, Alfred, so rendering portions of them, though these fragments have unfortunately been lost. The Scotie monks coming from Iona and Ireland were especially close students of those oracles, doubtless superior in this respect to the monks from the continent.



## CHAPTER IV

Most of the art taking root during this epoch in Anglo-Saxon civilization was introduced by the monks. It was poor, since a thousand years of decay from Phidias, Apelles and Æschylus could not leave the noble arts in any richness. But among the inmates of those old monasteries were germinating the seeds of most modern art. The work of Benedict Biscop at Wearmouth, when seeking a better stone building than the workmen of England could rear, he brought masons from Gaul to meet his aspirations, was prophecy of the Gothic magnificence which embellishes the island, and it looked forward toward the genius of Sir Christopher Wren. The imported glaziers of Benedict also looked toward the matchless windows and scrolls and orioles made eight centuries ago that are the despair of modern glaziers. The paintings he set up in his Wearmouth monastery were the first of those that in long course are now enriching the museums, churches and galleries. One cannot look upon the manuscripts preserved in the cathedral libraries and elsewhere, as fresh appearing as when written, notice the perfection of every letter in its peculiar structure of those centuries, linger lovingly upon the embellishments and the illuminated capitals, and see the faultlessly made vellum, without feeling that those old monks who laboriously

wrought them as a work of love, were superior artists.

Music, the helpful handmaid of devotion, was practiced from the start, the expanding work of the church, the building of cathedrals, the growing ornateness of the service, as well as the deepening culture of the people, calling for still more elaborate music. For this purpose the precentors of skilled musical powers brought from the continent, taught chanting and choral measures in the service. Benedict Biscop, of refined soul, led in this enlargement, as did the broad visioned Wilfred, who had music taught so widely that the peasants of his diocese mingled the Gregorian chant with their labors. The use of bars to facilitate reading the notes was first introduced by the monks. Their old manuscript piece of music with the heavy notes an inch in length are now curious things to look upon. Great organs added their profound intonations to the devotions of the people. One erected in the tenth century at Winchester had twelve bellows above and fourteen below, worked alternately by seventy strong men impelling each other to put forth their utmost strength. It had four hundred pipes, the keyboard being directed by two friars. Its sound must have been deafening.

To Benedict and Wilfred was due the importation of many arts that have never ceased their beneficent ministries to soul and body in all the history of the race. Embroidery of rich patterns, glass making with colors of incomparable richness, gold work of such beauty that it was the envy of

the continent as far as Italy, and painting, though of stiff figures, were a beginning, along with other embryonic benefits, full of rich promise and help to the people emerging into the light of civilization.

The amount of precious metals used shows not only the vast wealth held by the kings but in the lavish use of it also an expression of their religious life. Thus it is said that King Ina building a new church at Glastonbury put into an altar two hundred sixty-four pounds of gold besides much into the vessels, while the covers of the gospel had twenty pounds. Images of the Lord, of Mary and of the twelve apostles, were also of solid gold. Not monks alone encouraged art, but Alfred and others as well as Ina aided the culture and Christianization of their people by art's ministries. Nor did the converted Northmen wholly disdain to seek the uplifting influence of art, in some instances seeking restitution of works destroyed by their pagan predecessors.

There were certain ones among the Anglo-Saxons as among all warlike peoples, who from natural reasons were not adapted to war. Lack of brawn or lack of spirit might be the cause. To such the priesthood of the new faith offered special opportunities. To them the monasteries presented an asylum, where in the peaceful cloisters they often became even in the rough Anglo-Saxon period, most influential members of the race. Culture made them into monks, abbots, bishops and writers. It is impossible to think of the Venerable Bede as a warrior, but in the Jarrow cloister he wrought out

a vocation and a name with his pen that have only one compeer in that whole epoch.

Besides ambitious and letter-loving students, the monasteries attracted and gave shelter to the unfortunate ones who were not competent for the stern life of those times, or to those who had entered the conflicts and had failed in them. In these the monks saw special wards of Heaven, receiving them and caring for them to whom they were called upon to extend the lovingkindness of the Master. In those times of commotion and overturning, many helpless ones, women and children constantly deprived of their natural protectors found in the monasteries for women and in the monastic schools for children safe, sheltering arms. In these ways and many others, the monasteries were centers of a charity that touched all classes, affording to the rich careful and reliable opportunities for their benefactions, and on the other hand offering to the indigent relief from biting poverty and premature death. Hexam became such a sanctuary for the oppressed, the afflicted and the poor, that its asylum was respected in the wars between the little kingdoms, and the Scots were baffled in their attempts to slay the people of that community.

As if they were determined to carry the blessings of the new faith to all, the missionaries from first to last sought the manumission of the slaves. They bought the boys offered for sale, putting them as pupils into their schools, and it was not unknown that some of these unfortunate ones arose to high places in ecclesiastical life. A brilliant example of

this was when two hundred fifty slaves coming into the hands of Wilfred by a grant to him of the Isle of Wight, he freed them all and taught them the new evangel. The clergy were always soliciting the freedom of slaves from persons repentant or dying. Such thralls as were overworked or were compelled to work on Sunday were by council enactment made free. The manumission was accomplished before the altar of a church, and then the action was sometimes written upon the fly leaf of the church Bible. The victories of the new faith shown in many ways among a people so strenuously pagan but a few years before, is a marvel of history. By the time of the Domesday Book only twenty-five thousand slaves were reported in all England.

One of the grandest boons to the Anglo-Saxons brought by the missionaries was a better social life. The communities of monks, each with scores or hundreds of them living in a brotherhood, subject to a superior whose rule was not that of the sword or royal blood but that of parental authority and Christian fraternity, made a most vivid object lesson to the new people. It stirred a chord in their natures profounder than that of the old ways. The early missionaries, while associating with kings and nobles, went also without shrinking into the huts of serfs and slaves. The women soon learned to trust and respect the clerics. Choice youths full of promise were taken by them to their monastic schools from keeping cattle and swine, or from other low walks of life, such youths becoming priests and teachers like their preceptors. These

things were foundation laying, but among the foundations upon which the Anglo-Saxon race has built its greatness.

In time the jealousies between the tribal kingdoms grew less and did not lead to so many wars or to such ruthless ones. The sway of one archbishop over all England was suggestive of a better spirit. As time went on the irrepressible bitterness of the native Britons toward their aggressors seems to have given way and those who like Cadwalla would before join a pagan like Penda to ruin Northumbria, now joined in a fraternal effort to bring to Christ the remotest corners of heathen territory. Parents who had been in the habit of selling their children into slavery saw foreigners come among them who rescued such children from thralldom, educated them and placed them in positions of honor and influence. Feuds, killings and rapine were not fully stopped at once but had diminishing frequency. Robbery and brigandage grew less. Other crimes under the rule of penance for them and in all possible cases, of restitution, aided the movement toward better morals.

The position of the wife was more and more elevated. The power of the husband over her as well as over the remainder of the household was directed by a milder spirit. No wife could be lightly put away or infants any more be put to death. Slaves must be treated leniently, or better set at liberty, for slavery was an evil. The grim fighters who had lived by rapine and war were taught that these also were evils. Drunkenness and

gluttony must be atoned for by penance while fasts must be entered upon to teach them control of their passions and appetites.

The part that women played in the conversion of the Saxons and in the consequent religious life forms a most interesting passage in the history of the people. It was Bertha, the Gallic princess, who opened the way for Gregory to send Augustine and his company on their first mission to Kent. Her daughter, Ethelberga, went with similar results to Northumbria.

Reading backward in what was done in later times it can be more than guessed that women too were uplifted by the conversion of the kingdoms. Certain it is that they were protected as never before. Noble women began founding monasteries for their sex which in time became numerous and influential, offering such high advantages of culture and pious activities that there was no longer need of going to the Gallic monasteries either for schooling or devotion. Daughters of the kings became abbesses. Edward the Elder devoted three of his daughters to the religious life. The women devoted to a monastic life went through a neophytic course covering several years, their last vows being received only by a bishop. Thus consecrated and veiled they were called the spouses of Christ, for having renounced all thought of marriage to men they were thought to be indissolubly wedded to the Lord. Owing to their relations to the Most High while on earth, they were often accorded the liberties and attributes of exalted rank. Before their

final vows they must be of mature age, at least twenty-five, must have the consent of their parents to the important step, must promise obedience to the bishop, and thus with prayer and benediction be passed to the life of the nun.

As among the monks in their monasteries, full social equality prevailed among the nuns, for though they came from all ranks, royalty, nobility, and ceorls, they were as sisters in the cloisters. It sometimes happened that one whose rank before taking the veil had been low, served as superior over those whose social grade had been high, although most of the abbesses and superiors of whom mention is made were of noble blood. Thus the sisters of Crenhild and Brunehild became the Hildas and Ebbas of the cloisters.

The women entering those monasteries can be roughly grouped under three classes. First, those who were dedicated for some special reason in their babyhood; second, those who were married, but under the teaching of the age sought greater holiness as recluses, their husbands in some cases being willing, in others unwilling for them to take such a step; third, widows, who after the death of their husbands, sought comfort, safety and devotion in those houses. It cannot be surprising in a tumultuous age like the Anglo-Saxon period that weak women would freely use the protection offered by such foundations, as well as to seek the quiet opportunities of deep devotion. Queen Eanfleda, the widow of Oswald of Northumbria, found a refuge after the death of her husband in the mon-



astery of Whitby where her own daughter was abbess, and under such inverted relations ended her days in peace.

The first monastery founded for women was that of Lyminge, Kent, built by Ethelburga, the widow of Edwin. Her brother Eadbald gave her the land, out of the income of which she built the monastery, making it a refuge for many widows like herself.

In Wessex, at Winnbourne, was a community of nuns that numbered no less than five hundred and the abbess, Cuthberga, a daughter of King Ina, sometimes had her hands full to control such a mass of them. An under officer died who had become offensive to the young members of the monastery, and on her new-made grave they danced until it sunk half a foot below the surface, for which offense they were punished with three days' fasting and continued prayers for the dead nun. The delightful writer, Aldhelm, in his metrical book on Virgins, praises the nuns for their wide knowledge.

A class of monasteries had arisen in Gaul and Ireland occupied by both men and women but usually presided over by a woman. So successful were these double monasteries, especially the one at Chelles, Gaul, where Mildred and other Anglo-Saxon women had been educated, that the island kings desired similar ones among their people. Soon a number of them were founded, the most noted, perhaps, being that of Whitby, over which the saintly Hilda presided. The opportunities offered women by these various establishments called many able minds to the front.

Possibly the most distinguished by noble character and high genius was Hilda, long time abbess of Whitby. She was of royal Northumbrian blood and until she heard the call at thirty years of age to the conventual life, was subjected to the vicissitudes of court life. For a while she was in charge of a small foundation, and then was transferred to the larger one at Whitby on the coast, where Harlepool is now situated. Her monastery soon became a double one, growing to great size and prominence. Her high powers of mind and heart drew all the prominent people of that region to her, royalty, nobility and clergy seeking conference and counsel with her. Aidan was a frequent visitor. She was as thoughtful of the lowly as of the exalted, her keen insight and helpful spirit found out Cædmon and gave him to the world of letters, her pupils went out as priests and bishops, while her monastery was a refuge for helpless men and women, standing a moral lighthouse as it stood a material one to the storm-tossed sailors of the rough German Ocean. Her ability for organization and governing was not below that of the Anglo-Saxon kings of her age.

A woman, Ethelgiva, of royal birth and great riches, went secretly to the cell of Dunstan and was so impressed by his sanctity that she determined to live and die near him and the church. This she did, dedicating her money to God with Dunstan as executor, which he used to build the church in that place in much more elegant form. Her course was but typical of a spirit that grew more and more

upon the Anglo-Saxon people. Pilgrimages took the place of duty to friends and country, penances and mortifications paid the price of distressing sins, vows were more than oracles of God. Alfred swore the Danes upon relics when making a treaty with them, and Duke William bound Harold when in Normandy by an oath above a chest of saint's relics.

Another form their devotion took was making pilgrimages to Rome, and even to Jerusalem. The journey to the continent, across Gaul, over the perilous Alps, and through Italy, was wearisome, costly, and full of danger. But multitudes entered upon it. An institution termed a Saxon school was founded in Rome by Ina, King of Wessex when on his pilgrimage thither, which was really an asylum for the pilgrims from England. Alfred's father and that king himself aided it, as did many other royal benefactors. When burned it was rebuilt by English money. Not only did royalty and clergy go to Rome, but nobles, abbesses, princesses, nuns, and multitudes of the commons crowded the roads across the continent to do penance, even with such a rugged journey, visit holy places and pray in them, and seek absolution from the pope. Some, even abdicating kings, made the city, so full of sacred places and holy memories, a refuge till death came to them. Cadwalla of Wessex, converted, went to Rome, in 688, to be baptized by the pope and soon died in that holy city. On these pilgrimages many lost their lives; others were beset by robbers and gave up all they possessed, not a few

died of diseases contracted in a strange climate and by exposure, while others were harried by the Gallic rulers through whose petty domains they must pass. Yet with these possible dangers to persons and means the stream of devotees was swollen for generations.

## CHAPTER V

It seemed during these generations the Scripture prophecy was fulfilled that kings and queens should be nursing fathers and mothers to the kingdom of God. The devoutness and abundant liberality of Ethelbert, the first royal convert, were followed by many of the Anglo-Saxon royalty. Rejoicing in the new faith themselves they diligently sought the conversion of their people, not only pouring out their wealth, but often doing personal work to this end. Oswald, acting as interpreter for Aidan, shows this spirit. Aefrid, another Northumbrian king, having been a pupil in the monastery of Iona, was a most hearty patron of letters and of the church as was Wilfred. The devotion of Alfred was deep and personal, and he labored nobly in an age of decadence to establish the church institutions. He himself led, unconsciously no doubt, in a trend away from ceremonialism toward a simpler form of vital piety.

A strange movement, it seems, now took place among the royal people since numbers of them, abdicating their regal powers, sought salvation as monks or as pilgrims. The vicious wars that prevailed even after the acceptance of the new faith could readily join with other distractions of the epoch and drive men to seek a quiet life in the cell. Thus Ceolwulf of Northumbria, after reigning a number of years, grew tired of his responsibilities,

and assuming the habit of a monk, passed the remaining thirty years of his life in the monastery of Lindisfarne. In a similar spirit, Sebba of the East Saxons, after reigning thirty years, assumed the garb of the monk, and when dying would permit only the Bishop of London to be present, lest in dying he should show some sign of suffering and thus disgrace his Woden blood.

Some of them imbibed a liking for letters, seeking in the life of a recluse time and quiet to pursue their love of books. This Eadbert, the successor of the monk Ceolwulf, did, for after remaining on the throne twenty years, he abdicated, and retiring among the books at York which he had helped to collect, ended his days among them. Several other kings took similar courses. No less than three of the kings of Wessex did so. Centwine, after reigning nine years, from 676 to 685, retired to a cloister, and Cadwalla, a pagan until he was thirty, recalling the teachings of Wilfred when the latter was in exile, went to Rome to be baptized and shortly after died in that city. Ina, after a reign of thirty-seven years, during which he conquered Cornwall, was persuaded by his wife to adopt the monastic habit, and going to Rome accompanied by her as a companion and nurse, died there, and his wife returned to Wessex to enter a monastery. The new faith, even if but partially comprehended, was already getting a mighty hold upon the race. Turketul, Eadred's chancellor, having thus served under Athelstan and Edmund, at length turned monk, sought devastated Croyland, rebuilt it,

secured a protecting charter from the king, and spent the last twenty-seven years of his life as abbot.

Among the changes wrought by the conversion of this people, those in the matter of government were not the least, for the missionaries at once took a prominent place in directing the kings and witans, and while introducing new principles, retained most of the old laws and customs. The superior knowledge of the monks, the high place they assumed in the kingdoms, added to the new relations that Christianity introduced, caused them to be greatly depended upon by the people for direction in the large racial life. The ideal of a state whose laws were thoroughly interblended with the teachings of the gospel was more nearly reached in those little kingdoms than has ever been done elsewhere since Christianity has been offering its beneficent force to humanity. As soon as Ethelbert was converted the laws began showing a change; the former laws, sacred, unchangeable, held enshrouded in mystery, were kept in memory by the lawman but now, together with the new ones, were committed to writing and thus lost their mystery and for reason could be changed. These were probably the first laws reduced to written form by any of the Germanic race. The king became sacred as the Lord's anointed, as such obtaining his power from the Deity, and was to rule with justice, mercy and goodness. In the coronation oath he promised to see that the church and Christian people pursued peace at all times, that he would forbid rapacity

and every form of iniquity, that in all judgment he would enforce peace and equity. Far toward the Conquest the king still assumed to be God's vicegerent upon the earth, being delegated to keep peace in his realm. The church and state seldom came into collision, but when that did occur it was to find the clergy as champions against the kings for the good of the people.

The archbishop and other clergy assumed a constantly increasing position in state affairs. The bishop and other leaders were given a place in the Witenagemot, the old gathering of the wise men, alongside the nobility, and from their superior learning soon became most influential. Laws coming from these gatherings were both secular and ecclesiastical, and no great distinction existed between them. The bishops at certain epochs, so great were their powers, could pronounce a land grant worthless. Charters were signed by the bishops, abbots, abbesses, and others, as well as by royalty, and the legal machinery showed the legal presence of their hand. The shire moot was not complete without it held the bishops as well as the ealdormen, and the hundred was attended by the parish priest. In church councils kings and princes took part, and the legislation emanating from synods showed alike the work of royalty and clergy. The naming of archbishop and bishop was frequently done by the king in the Witenagemot. The church and state without any formal action of constitutional process were united. On the death of a bishop or abbot, the king could direct men to occupy their lands until a new grant was made. Cases



of administration were constantly arising relating to the clergy and to morals in which the bishops exercised high judicial powers. Penitentials, notably those of Theodore, were an active means of discipline against immorality or drunkenness. As time passed the clergy were often found in arms leading the military forces from their estates, or even large divisions of the king's army in defense of the nation, and their influence toward the latter part of this period, being about the only permanent element of the shifting society, operated largely in the changes which finally enabled royalty in one kingdom to obtain the supremacy over all the kingdoms of the Octarchy. It was not unknown that the Archbishop of Canterbury performed regal duties, both in governing the realm of Kent and in forming an alliance with another ruler. The supremacy of the archbishop was far wider than that of any king till the Anglo-Saxon period approached an end. England's great statesmen in clerical robes began arising, Dunstan, Odo, the precursors of Pole and Wolsey.

In the parishes, too, was to be found the blending of the civil and spiritual, as well as in the wider affairs of the state. Here the union of church and state came in touch with the common people much more than in the higher walks of the national life. The village community followed in the early settled life of the Teutonic people, was taken to England in a modified form, and the need in such a compact community of a spiritual guide, after conversion to Christianity, placed there a monk at first, and a secular priest, later, more or less permanently. The

lord's manor with his large company of retainers and laborers also formed a large body of people calling for the same spiritual oversight, and these two conditions made the parish that peculiar unit of religious life. Theodore, seeing the worth of this arrangement greatly helped forward the organization of the island into parishes. Sometimes several townships were thrown into one parish if each was too small to support a priest, for to him tithes and dues were paid.

A vast amount of local legislation was done, the parish and township combining in their rights and duties. Vestrymen's meetings attended to a multitude of matters arising in the parish, and through that the church came in its spirit of love and wisdom into close relations with the common people. It is no wonder then, as time went on, that the religious life became more powerful among the masses than the national or racial life. Thus with the Anglo-Saxon common man the devotion to his parish, to his priest and to his pious duties, arose above those of his nation and he cared less who was his king, Northumbrian, West Saxon or Dane, than for the immediate duties of his religion. Throughout the Anglo-Saxon period it was a time of transition. The tribal spirit, dominant when the tribe of the fierce warriors effected a lodgment upon the islands, slowly yielded to that which gradually formed the Octarchy, while later, this was giving way under the example and influence of a unified church over all the island, so that the small kingdoms were disintegrating to make way in turn for one England.

The church was a powerful instrument in helping toward this goal and in forming a national sentiment. The strong social feelings inherent in the race were still more broadened by the new faith, while the mighty assertion of personal freedom always to be found in the Germanic people was also fostered by the spirit and way of the church. Thus Edgar's laws held that any man, as well poor as rich, was to be worthy of folk-right. Edgar himself would judge righteous dooms, that remission of "bot" should be made as might be becoming before God and tolerable before the world. His laws also caused a thegn rendering unrighteous judgment to forfeit his thegnhood. Out of the loyalty to his church and the freedom it taught, the Englishman was to be made a patriot. Free as a Christian, he was becoming ready to insist on being free as a citizen.

Of course only the beginnings of literary excellence could be expected of a people so recently led out of crass heathenism, totally ignorant of letters and possessing no written literature. Still they had of old their poems, legends, and religious teachings kept by their priests in oral form, somewhat as their laws and customs of civil processes were kept by the lawmen. Teachers and pupils were alike crude and products could not be other than crude. The racial genius began showing itself and produced a few real gems, prophecy of future wealth, and since all the teachers were ecclesiastics and the mighty impulse the people were receiving was mostly of a religious nature, it must follow that whatever of literary results were produced would be of a religious nature.

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The earliest gleam of literary genius arising in those early generations was that of Cædmon. A convert directly from paganism in the early part of the seventh century when the church was getting only a fair start in Northumbria, he was attached to Hilda's monastery at Whitby as a keeper of farm stock. Under what he deemed to be a divine impulse revealed to him in a dream, he began to compose snatches of song upon Bible themes, and these, submitted to the wise Hilda, were thought by her and others to be of great merit. She had him changed from the stable to the cloister, and sections of the Scripture being read to the unlettered poet, he would in due time render them into verse. In this way he paraphrased many parts of the Scripture. In his works there is true poetic fire, both epic and lyric, and they glow everywhere with the religious fervor likely to be in a highly poetic soul led from paganism to Christianity. Through all the productions of both the Old Testament and the New, Cædmon gives noble expression to the religious life, and must have stood as an exalted preacher of righteousness to his countrymen in his own age and in those following. People committed to memory and repeated those strong Scripture paraphrases put into the vernacular, coming from a stout Anglo-Saxon heart, and they must have served better purposes for the kingdom of God than the monkish teachings of pious legends, saints' lives and ceremonials.

One of the old pagan poems, Beowulf, was most fortunately preserved, kept in memory, no doubt, through many generations, to be put into written

form in the seventh or eighth century by some advanced thinker among the Northumbrian monks. In this fine epic of more than three thousand lines the hand of the Christian transcriber is distinctly seen, for many references are made to Christian facts and teachings, though the body of the poem is plainly pagan. It is a wild, daring tale of war and bloodshed, of dragons and monsters, of loyal friendships and noble self-sacrifice. The Christian teachings are slipped in here and there as if this salt must be sprinkled into the pagan epic to preserve it in an age of other belief than that in which it was composed. To have written out the bold pagan poem might have been cried at as heresy in the monkish transcriber.

In the poem on the great battle of Brunanburh, in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the sun is called "God's candle bright," and in the prose insertion of this victory of Athelstan over Anlaf leading a confederacy of Scots, Welsh and Danes, it is said he had the victory, "Christ Helping."

Praise by the historian must not be stinted for the venerable Bede, who stands foremost of all the great men of that epoch. His use of Latin in all the works preserved does not permit us to know how his great soul and intellect could have found expression in the rugged Anglo-Saxon. He made a translation of John's Gospel into the vernacular, pathetically working on it with his amanuensis till his death day, but that is now lost as well as all traces of his other Anglo-Saxon work.

His reputation mainly rests upon his "Ecclesiastical History," in which he begins with Britain when in-

vaded by Cæsar and ends in 731, near the date of his death. This monk, the product of the Anglo-Saxon monastic life at its best period, the pupil of Benedict Biscop, grown up in the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, persisting in being a teacher and a writer during his whole life, exercised an exalted influence through his "Ecclesiastical History," his "Life of Cuthbert" and other writings that remain as a glorious monument to his heart and brain.

A hundred years later than Cædmon and directly after Bede, flourished Cynewulf, the most prolific poet of the Anglo-Saxon epoch, more cultured than Cædmon and as good a master of the vernacular as he was. There had been a century of progress in the religious life, in the emergence from paganism into the light of Christianity, and in the culture of the general intellect. The spirit of Cynewulf's productions is thoroughly religious, his three principal poems being "Christ," "Andreas," and "Elene." Together they form a kind of Christian cycle. Other poems and fragments have been assigned to him. In all his writings Cynewulf was devout, seeking the light, and his poems, like those of Cædmon, were learned by the people and promoted much religious knowledge among them.

Following this time came the Danish irruptions and the subversion of the seats of learning, and with such loss, decay of the intellectual and spiritual life which had in Northumbria and elsewhere made so fair promise of great advancement.

Alfred the Great, standing head and shoulders

above all the other kings of the Anglo-Saxon period, may be regarded also as the supremest representation of the religious life in that epoch of whom we have any knowledge. Coming to the throne of Wessex when his own kingdom had been attacked by the Danes, and the remainder of the island terribly harried by them, when national decay consequent upon these irruptions and other active forces was threatening the material, social and religious life of the people, Alfred did so much to stay this coming in like a flood that his name has a luster all its own. In his early life he was attractive, pious, and although untaught of letters until he was twelve, the story goes that he then set to work diligently to learn, being impelled to it first by the gift from his stepmother Judith of an Anglo-Saxon poem on condition that he or any one of his brothers learn to read it.

His piety was the center of his being. Out of that spirit came his patriotism, his high literary work, his intense activity, his hopefulness and his wise statesmanship. That piety showed itself in purity of life, in habits of secret prayer in churches, at shrines and other private places, and he always carried a small book in his bosom containing prayers and other helps to his devotions. He was not satisfied with the mere routine of monkish devotions, but through prayer and the Scriptures pushed close to personal contact with God, confident that he would be met by the approach of the Heavenly Father. In this spirit, appealing to the Scriptures and to simplicity of faith and practice, he was a reformer, an early one in that

long line that since has made the religious life of the Anglo-Saxon race so noble and progressive.

Alfred's writings and translations were like his personal life, radiant with the vivifying power of truth. The nature of the books he translated into the vernacular, so that his beloved people could have the benefit of better information, was such that they were eminently inclined to foster Christianity. He translated the "Dialogue of Gregory," his "Pastoral Book," the "Consolation of Philosophy" by Boethius, the "General History and Philosophy" of Orosius and Bede's "Ecclesiastical History," all books of religious cast. In translating these he made free renderings, greatly improving the originals, and the additions of Alfred interjected here and there appeared like apples of gold in silver setting. He caused schools to be established, for on coming to the throne he found gross ignorance everywhere, even among the clerics supposed to be the conservators of learning. Like Charlemagne, he set up a court school in which he and his family were eager learners, and founded another school designed for the nobility of his realm. He found the monasteries burned and in ruins by the ravages of the Danes, some of which he rebuilt. He erected two new ones, Atholney, in remembrance of his hiding himself there in the Somerset morass, and another at Shaftsbury, for women, over which he appointed as abbess his daughter, Ethelgiva. England, from the Danish ravages was in great danger of again becoming pagan. Wessex alone led by Alfred, was able to confront the remorseless Danes. When they were beaten and the frith of Wedmore with



Guthrum was made, and that great leader accepted Christianity with many of his nobles and soldiers, promising to settle in East Anglia as peaceful tillers of the soil, the plan formed by Alfred was a piece of high Christian statesmanship.

A hundred years after Alfred another prose writer came into prominence, a priest and abbot, Elfric. His works are as a broad rift through the over-spreading clouds of mental darkness and decay, letting in a flood of sunlight upon the religious life of his people of Wessex. His writings are what would be expected of a churchman of that period, works of a religious nature, homilies, saints' lives, and theological disquisitions. Of praying he says, "The sign of the cross is our blessing; and to the cross we pray; yet not to the wood but to the Almighty God that was hanged upon it." Elfric's works were written to be given orally to the people, to instruct them in righteousness and church duties, and being thus designed, have, in the vernacular, a rhythmic structure.

## CHAPTER VI

Out of the surroundings of nature and the restricted conditions of their previous life, the Anglo-Saxons before their conversion must have had, both on the continent and on the island, coarse manners and habits repulsive to a higher grade of social life. A decided improvement can be traced in the customs of the people as this period progressed toward its close. A kindly spirit instead of persecution for those still pagan was practiced, later synodic action requiring carefulness of spirit toward those unconverted, none being forced to accept the new faith. Not one king emulated Charlemagne in his dealings with the Old Saxons. The old drinking habits, a part of the religious service like those of the Romans, could not readily be hindered, though exhortation of monks, laws of witans and councils and penitentials of archbishops were directed against such excesses. Dunstan, as a regulation of drinking habits, ordered pegs to be put into the sides of the drinking vessels, marking how much each one might drink from the common cup as his share. The Danes with still grosser habits and with a despair brought by their devastations increased the dissoluteness.

Keeping slaves, whether captives of war or those of their own people reduced by debt or crime, was never deemed wrong till Christianity taught a better spirit. At once the new teachers began to ameliorate the condition of the thrall. Many of them as well as

of the free would accept the new cult, and by that acceptance be entitled to a place in the great Christian brotherhood. Many were manumitted. Cruelty to slaves lingered some time, like other pagan practices, it being said that the mistresses were especially severe in punishing the female slaves. Clerical laws made it impossible for a father to sell a child without the consent of the latter. By the laws of Ina, Christian men were not to be sold into a foreign, heathen country, and the good Bishop Wulfstan did his best to close the port of Bristol against the slave trade to Ireland, which had, respecting young women, some brutally repulsive aspects.

The parish priests as distinct from the monks, noble in the views obtained of them, seemed to have had a beneficent influence upon the social life, since living among the people, learning their needs and thoughts, themselves married and cultivating the glebe, were nearer the men and women of the township and parish of the lord and his dependents than celibate monks could possibly be. The people met on more social occasions, the gathering for church services aiding, no doubt, in this valuable amenity. Christian democracy had a growth but it was slow. The well born were permitted to marry only the well born, the uplift of the lower orders by no means being rapid or universal.

One pursuing the course of English history cannot but be pained as he approaches the Norman French conquest to see the contrast in the life then found compared with the rich promise of preceding generations. Decay had struck all the life, national, men-

tal, moral. The acute mind of Bede saw the approach of these national disasters, and in his patriotism did not hesitate to point them out. Among the notes of warning he sent out was that false monasteries had sprung up, protected by charters from taxes, military service, and by other favors usual to those houses, yet not possessing the real nature of monasteries, being without monastic rules, and enabling their inmates to live in easy, protected luxury. He feared that such houses would leave the nation without thegns and warriors possessing the means and spirit to defend the country if attacked from the outside. Many of these false monasteries were presided over by nobles and ealdormen and by kings' immediate servants, who, though posing as clerics, had families of their own. Monasteries for women were presided over by women that were not nuns. Bede accused many houses, both for men and women, as being marked by vanity, gluttony, and incontinence, a reproach to Christianity, existing from the time of Aldfrid and Wilfred.

Boniface, even from his field of missionary work in the forests of Germany, perceived the evils growing up in English monasticism, and wrote biting letters back to his native country, accusing the bishops of drunkenness, the cloisters of luxury, the monks of assuming fine adornments, leaving study, keeping bad company, and falling into debauchery. The councils of Cloveshoe sought to stem the flood and issued strong words against these things, forbidding the monks to bring into their monasteries for diversion clowns, minstrels, poets, musicians, buffooneries. It

was said, too, that priests kept women unlawfully, and putting one away would take another in her place.

The vast accumulation of wealth in many of the monasteries must have been owing to the luxury and laziness induced, the basis of much of the corruption creeping into them. With the increase of wealth came increase of covetousness, the Danes not being the only spoilers of those institutions. Sometimes the heirs of an abbot would put in a claim to the lands administered by him, on condition of supporting the monks of the institution. Kings and nobles who had made gifts to religious houses would revoke the gifts. Prelates would make over to their relatives some of the lands committed to their control. It was not unknown that some of the bishops bought their offices, the immense emoluments attached to the bishoprics being a most alluring prize. But this decay of the religious life was not peculiar to England, for in the tenth century the popes and all were commingling in the slough of vice and crime. One source of the evil was the tendency to hold dioceses in plurality, one bishop sometimes holding three or four sees and using the vast income from them all. In 904 the pope put England under an interdict because seven dioceses were without bishops, and Pligmund consecrated seven bishops in one day. Ealdred, archbishop of York, before attaining that exalted seat held at the same time the bishoprics of Worcester, Hereford and Sherburne, yet was counted a good prelate. So blended was the church with the state that the decay of the one was the decay of the other. The strong

family of Alfred was touched with a decadence that in memory of that noble king was most distressing. Weak kings totter across the stage or are the victims of court intrigue.

The Danish devastations in many respects duplicated the irruption of the Angles, Saxons and Jutes, four centuries before. The evil they wrought could not fail to hurry the decadence that was setting in from other sources. Like the Anglo-Saxons, on gaining control of portions of England and finally of all the island, settling down they became Christianized. Their hatred of Christianity lends color to the notion that many of them were Old Saxons who fled their own country when for their conversion Charlemagne used the sword instead of the Bible. Wherever they trod, churches, monasteries, and other Christian foundations were blotted out, libraries shared the same fate, priests and monks by the thousands fell under their battle axes, and the nuns suffered a worse fate still. It is said, however, that in some instances they spared parish churches which were not in charge of monks. Whole dioceses were denuded of priests and bishops alike, a venerable archbishop of Canterbury not being respected enough to save him from torture and a most excruciating death. Edmund, king of East Anglia, captured by them and required to renounce his Christian faith, steadfastly refused. He was tied to a tree and shot to death by their arrows, being in the annals of the times counted a martyr, the St. Sebastian of England.

It is not to be wondered that bishops, forsaking crosier, snatched up the sword and led their own ten-

ants and sometimes divisions of the royal army against these scourges. A litany, "Deliver us, O Lord, from the frenzy of the Northmen," was wrung from the heart of the people. Great cities like London, York and Winchester were not spared from plunder, fire and the sword. So great was the slaughter that whole dynastic families were blotted out; two rival kings in York, uniting against the common foe, were killed the same day. The destruction by these Danes stood close beside that of Attila. The country north and east was overrun, devastations everywhere marking their steps, the west was attacked from Ireland and only Wessex with its mighty Alfred withstood the destruction. Gradually the Danes accepted Christianity and when the great representative of the Danes, the wise Canute, came to the throne of all England, it was to rule, not as a pagan, but as an enlightened Christian prince. Odo, a Dane, had already been archbishop of York. Their acceptance of the new faith had vastly to do in establishing the right social relations with the Anglo-Saxons, and in making the Dane into an Englishman. When Athelstan was king, he aided Haco The Good to the throne of Norway, and English missionaries, protected by Haco, brought the gospel into that distant kingdom.

But this painful decadence of church and national life was not left to go on without efforts, by ecclesiastics as well as kings, to stay it. Dunstan, a generation away from Alfred, clasped hands with him across that space in a reformed spirit. As the Danes forsook the smoldering ruins of Glastonbury a few

monks and school boys returned to renew as best they could the old associations, and among those school boys was Dunstan, of a noble Wessex family. Later the death of Odo placed Dunstan in the vacant bishopric of Canterbury, by this office the primate becoming the first counselor of the young king Edgar, who was as much a churchman, or more, than the primate, and the conduct of affairs in Wessex, where both had most power, was ennobled by the devoutness of both. The king is said to have founded no less than forty-seven monasteries, deeming them the very core of the Christian life, and besides these he caused several of the old ones destroyed by the Danes to be rebuilt. During his reign those foreign marauders mostly ceased their incursions. England, like the continent, was greatly stirred by the general impression that time was to end with 1000 A. D., the efforts at reform by Dunstan being greatly strengthened by this thought.

It was at this epoch that the first of those great revivals of monasticism occurring in the Middle Ages came to England. It was brought forward by the Cluniacs being introduced from Fleury, France. On the continent as in England the monastic life had sadly forsaken its first spirit and the reform of it having begun at Cluny, it spread over all western Europe, till two thousand congregations and monks by the ten thousand accepted the reform. Under this fresh impulse all the institutions were to be opened always to the poor, the needy, and travelers, and the old Benedictine rule of study was enforced. These Cluniacs opposed the severity shown by the



monks, or regulars, toward the secular clergy, those conducting the parishes.

In time Cluny, the head of the movement, grew rich, had renowned schools and widespread influence, but itself grew corrupt and by that decadence called for the Mendicant Friars. From England men were sent to Fleury to study the new movement, and if deemed best, were to bring back its rules, and possibly also its spirit. Having been reported favorably, the reform began taking root in England, King Edgar and Dunstan being prominent in using its forces. Its intellectual forces gave Elfric to England and the Chronicles received new vigor and precision.

When in 1014 Canute, the great Danish leader, came to the throne, that people had finally succeeded in their object through generations of warfare, this greatest representative of them, having like King David executed the murderers of his royal opponent, displayed justice and great wisdom in his ruling. To make his throne secure in the sentiments of the English he married Emma, the mother of the murdered Eadmund, rebuilt many of the monasteries destroyed by the Danes and on every battlefield of the conflict between the two peoples had a chapel built that prayers might be continually offered for the souls of the slain.

Canute went on a pilgrimage to Rome soon after his accession, praying for himself and for his kingdom, conferring gifts upon religious houses there in which he passed hours of devotion, and also obtained many favors from the pope. One of these was no longer to require going to Rome for the pallium of

the archbishop, since corruption attended that ceremony, and another that the Anglo-Saxon schools in Rome should be freed from taxation. On his return Canute sent a letter ahead of himself to his people that breathes a most remarkable Christian spirit from one so recently pagan, and so young, since he was not much above thirty years of age. The church of that period owed a vast obligation to the vigorous, pious Dane.

During the whole Anglo-Saxon period the people found it difficult wholly to escape from a superstitious spirit, since so much of it held sway under the old cult. Through it all can be seen in many ways that a noble spirit was increasing, even laying kings, nobles, and prelates under its gentle power. Thus Athelstan, the grandson of Alfred, commanded that governors of towns belonging to the crown should maintain a poor man in food and clothing, also free a slave yearly. Buying or selling on Sunday was forbidden, the day to begin at three o'clock Saturday, and end at daylight on Monday morning. Bishops and judges were to promote justice, regulate weights and measures, protect the poor and the slaves. At a convention under Edgar, 967, it was ordered that if a person refused to pay tithes the bishop, or king's officer, or sheriff, was to meet with the priest of the parish and a division of the man's property was to be made by force, the priest to have a tenth, the ninth to be given to the recusant, the other eight parts to be equally divided between the bishop and the king's officer or the lord of the manor. The clergy were required to be constant in their devotions, especially

that the people might be loyal and dutiful to their governors and princes. Every priest was to learn some industry, so as to guard against poverty. All people were to teach the Christian faith to their children, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, else they were not to come to the eucharist or be buried in consecrated ground. Intemperance or riot at the dedication of a church, or at any solemnity was to be punished. Instead of hunting or hawking, the canons and priests were to make books.

## CHAPTER VII

The daily church service at the time of Odo and Dunstan was something elaborate. Besides the regular liturgy of Rome the Anglo-Saxon church adopted for itself a breviary consisting of the Psalms of David, the prophets and other sections of Scripture, quotations from the Fathers, prayers, and the story of the martyrs. Each day was divided into seven hours, at which the clergy, since they were set apart for that purpose, were summoned to the church to sing and conduct the service in behalf of the great body of Christians. The hours were four o'clock and six, nine and twelve, then in the afternoon at three, vespers, and nocturnes at seven in the evening. In order that the people might know what they were using, the priests were to teach them the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. With the Scriptures were mixed legends of Elijah, Adam and Eve, and other of his chosen ones brought from Hades by Christ. The resurrection was argued from the story of the Seven Sleepers. The people were to observe the fasts, saints' days, and to abstain from eating blood.

We are also let into a glimpse of the personal life of an individual in reference to the church. A babe was to be baptized within thirty days of its birth, regenerated they supposed by the water of baptism, some one standing sponsor. As the child grew up it was admitted to the eucharist, and if sinning penance was imposed. These three great sacraments: bap-

tism, eucharist, and penance, were the means by which the souls of men were purified from sin. While yet young the person must receive the imposition of the bishop's hands, by this obtaining the spirit of wisdom and fortitude to withstand spiritual enemies. When he married that event was to be made sacred by priestly ceremonies; then as death approached, receiving extreme unction and holy oil and the eucharist, he was assured that he could hopefully and peacefully await the last hour. In time they came to regard the eucharist as the highest service of their religious life, as the highest to the glory of God. They called it the celestial sacrifice, the sacred mysteries, the renovation of the passion and death of Christ. Of all the means to appease the wrath of God, they thought this had the greatest efficacy. Communion seasons were frequent in addition to the great festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide.

From the beginning of their conversion by Augustine through the whole Anglo-Saxon period the people went to confession, submitting to any penance laid upon them. At the time of confession the confessor was to make careful inquiry into the circumstances of the misbehavior. The penitent in making confession was to repeat the Creed, evince contrition and humiliation, be explicit in telling his faults, his feelings respecting covetousness, envy, distraction, lying, vanity, spite, profaneness, keeping unlawful secrets, whether he had been the tempter and taught the methods of vice to others. To the confessor and to God the penitent made his confession, praying to

Christ for pardon and begging the priest to bear witness at the Judgment of his sincerity. Then on Ash Wednesday the penitent was to repair to the cathedral, when the bishop would name the penance, if it had not already been laid upon him. If the crime was heinous, the culprit was debarred entrance to the church, if he was submissive and well behaved he could appear on a Monday or Thursday publicly before the bishop and be absolved by him.

But in process of time so many exceptions to the literal fulfillment of penance were allowed that it must have ceased to reach the original object. The conditions began to be modified, possibly because the people, more enlightened by Scripture and general advance of knowledge, were restless under them and so the clergy yielded to compromise. Thus, those restricted to bread and water were allowed to have some green herbs with them. Commutation in distinct form was finally allowed one. If near death's door, or if he found his constitution too weak for such austerities he might, instead, give a certain sum to the poor or redeem captives or say over the Pater Noster or Miserere. "He might," says Turner, "repair churches, make folk ways, with bridges over deep waters and over miry places; and let him help poor men's children and step-children and widows. He may free his own slaves, and redeem the liberty of those of other masters." A penny a day was sometimes required of those able to pay, and of the poor fifty Paternosters and of the educated fifty psalms. Another form of escape was the permission given to a great man to get others to fast with him, their days

counting as his but in no case could his fast be less than three days and on the fourth day he must wash the feet of the poor. Another way was to secure some monks or a hermit to assume the required fasting and prayers, to be well paid for his penitential assistance. The famous Council of Cloveshoe ardently attacked the system of commutation and it is claimed with questioning that it did not persist after the time of Eadgar and Dunstan.

One of the customs brought to England by the missionaries and one which exerted a wide influence was that of praying for the dead. It was supposed that those not hopelessly wicked whose souls needed more purifying and refining action could be helped after death toward eternal bliss by the prayers of friends in this world. Hence a custom prevalent and intense was fostered through all the centuries of that period. One constant duty of the monks was to pray for the repose of the soul of the one founding their monastery, or for that of some kind patron giving further endowment, or still for such as were paid for doing this act. The fear of purgatory became a very real one to those whose ancestors firmly believed most vividly in Valhalla; to be helped out of the purifying fires of such a purgation was worthy of great gifts of land or of money. Guilds were formed with many objects but in them all was the one important regulation that they should pray for the soul of the dead member, or pay monks for such intercession.

When one was deathly sick the priest summoned was bound to go and, attended by his inferior clergy, exhort the dying man first to pay his debts and in-

demnify any he had injured. Extreme unction followed, with the sign of the cross laid upon different parts of the body, and the use of consecrated oil, accompanied with appropriate prayers. Then the sick one received the eucharist, when the priest and others gave the kiss of peace and left him assured of a successful journey to heaven. The custom of burying the bodies of prominent saints and renowned churchmen in religious houses first occurred with the body of Theodore. Cuthbert expressed a wish that his body might be buried within the walls of the diocesan cathedral; hence arose the custom of burying the prelates in such sacred places.

Like prayers for the dead, prayers to the saints was an imported custom, yet while much practiced did not supersede direct and devout prayers to God. To the saints they ascribed power over nature, disease, and human life. At the first they had to import saints and relics but in time so many Anglo-Saxons attained sainthood that churches were dedicated to them, the epithet, "Island of Saints" being applied to England.

The clergy having its system of culture were required to meet the bishop twice a year in synod, where they were allowed the privilege of debate. Besides these diocesan synods, national councils were called, sometimes by the pope or the archbishop, or one might be ordered by a preceding council. The objects of such national gatherings were to watch over the purity of the faith, the enforcement of discipline, to show bishops and priests their respective duties, reform abuses, and regulate public worship.



It is certain that they had a quiet but deep trending toward national unity, for clerics from all of the kingdoms whose influence was potent from the landing of Augustine and his party were represented in them. A period in church influence for national unity was reached when Eadred, selected by the first Witenagemot in which English nobles and bishops, British under kings and Danish jarls sat and voted together, was crowned in 946, the mutual act of the two primates of Canterbury and York.

Allied to these active forces for peace and safety was the peculiar movement called "The Truce of God." Starting in southern France in the tenth century as a religious excitement, it became prominent in England before the middle of the eleventh century. By its provisions no one was to attack or molest another from Thursday evening to Monday morning of each week. These days were set aside because Thursday was specially sacred as the day of Christ's ascension, Friday the day of his Passion, Saturday as the day he rested in the grave, Sunday as the day of his resurrection. In its later stages the Truce covered important fasts, feasts and holy occasions, these, with three days every week, making a large share of the year when no sword could be unsheathed or battle ax unslung. Staying the red hand of war and of private vengeance so much gave the people a respite from danger, time for angry passion to cool and opportunity for threatened ones to seek security. In England this movement found expression in the laws of Edward by which from Advent to Octaves of Epiphany all lawsuits and prosecutions were to

cease. The same cessation was required from Septuagesima to Octaves of Whitsuntide, all three days in Ember week, on all Sundays from three o'clock Saturday afternoon over Sunday to dawn of Monday upon vigils of the Virgin, St. Michael's Day and that of John the Baptist, all Apostles' and other saints' days of which notice was given by the priest on Sunday. The same freedom from arrest or disturbance was enacted for the anniversary of the church belonging to any parish, or holy day of any saint particularly related to that parish. Under the same favor was a person on a pilgrimage, to or from a church to say his prayers, to a synod, or to the consecration of a church or to a consistory or going to a bishop to be released from excommunication. One fleeing to a churchyard or to a priest's house could be troubled only by a bishop or a priest, the power of sanctuary being extended thus from the altar to the church land. So carefully was the hand of the church made to cover the unprotected as a shield.

It is a most interesting phase of this study to note the change being made from the rough, brutal, bloodthirsty nature shown at the first by the followers of Hengist and Horsa to the milder, gentler spirit being manifested by those who had accepted Christianity. When the ecclesiastical questions over the different times of holding Easter were settled between the Celtic and Roman sections of the church, a gradual elimination of rancor took place between the two races and by the end of the Anglo-Saxon period had entirely disappeared, a union in religious matters being complete by the time of the Conquest.

In the later wars with the Welsh, remnants of the native British driven to the west of the island, the Anglo-Saxons no longer waged wars of extermination like those of the pagan period. If the Anglo-Saxon supremacy was acknowledged and heeded then peace was allowed. Saxon and Welsh alike being Christians, that bond became stronger than race hatred. Sentences for violated law were made more humane, holy days forced periods of peace, strife was being appeased. By the laws of Ethelred fraudulent deeds were to be cast out of the country, also injustice, hateful illegalities, false weights and measures, lying witnesses and shameful fightings. He also put under condemnation horrid perjuries, diabolical deeds in "morth" works and in homicide, as well as drunkenness, gluttony and sacrilege. He also declared that as all had one Father, God, and one mother, the church, all were brothers. When such men as the stern Anglo-Saxons and cruel Danes could consent to these milder ways, enact and observe such laws and dooms it can be seen that a marked mitigation of fierceness was going on. Those grim warriors whose joy had been the drunken feast and the deadly hand play of the sword, often entered voluntarily upon a life of abstention and study, of prayer and vigil. The changes among the common people though unrecorded were unquestionably going on. Brutal sports and amusements of cruelty, unnatural crimes and shocking barbarities, were growing less and less. The spirit of Christ was shown to be better than that of Woden, their old war god. The Jews under Edward the Confessor were taken into the protection of

the crown, and when it is remembered how this despised race had been harried, robbed, and driven from one country and another, such kindly protection gleams as a shaft of light in the darkness of their misfortunes.

The papacy in most of the Anglo-Saxon period had but light direction of affairs upon the island. The popes usually let England alone. Still they wisely directed initial steps for evangelizing parts of the land. The papacy claimed the right to direct affairs on occasion, as was shown in the selection and appointment of Theodore as archbishop of Canterbury. The unhappy disputes taking place between Wilfred and those about him, leading to the appeal to the pope, opened the way for papal interference that was illy brooked by the Anglo-Saxon authorities, civil or ecclesiastical. They sometimes flatly refused to abide the decisions of the pope, suggesting that they could attend to their own matters.

Through a curious money transaction, that of Peter's Pence, the papal grip upon England was greatly aided. This money at first seems to have been a grant from England of means to sustain the Saxon school founded at Rome by Ina, King of Wessex. Offa of Mercia, in gratitude for aid deemed to have been given him by St. Peter in a war, confirmed the grant, extending the territory of its collection, and Ethelwulf as overlord of all England still further extended the country laid under obligation. In time the confirmation of the grants by the kings brought it to the definite sum of a silver penny from each family or hearth of the kingdom, being usually

collected by the bishop of the diocese and sent to Rome. Being due every year on the date of Peter's mass it was called Peter's Pence. The popes needed the money and it also expressed a certain obligation of the land and its people, royal, cleric and laity, to the papal see. Protestors there were all along, as evidenced by the dooms upon recusants, but on the other hand most of the Christians would be glad to pay that small sum each year to aid the great central figure of their faith.

## CHAPTER VIII

By the beginning of the eleventh century matters leading to the Norman Conquest began to take definite form. Little thought was there of the momentous results that through the centuries would follow when in 1002 Ethelred took in marriage Emma, the daughter of Richard the Good, Duke of Normandy. Those Northmen, settling in France, had become thoroughly Christianized. By a race of great rulers peace and prosperity had been secured and their influence upon England was to be increasingly important to the Conquest sixty years forward. By his marriage with the Norman princess, Ethelred kept the Danes from finding refuge in the harbors of Normandy or aid from its men at arms. But it did not save the king from defeat by the Danes under the able leadership of Swein, after which the whole royal family fled oversea to the court of Richard. Still Ethelred and his brave son, Edmund Ironside, made attempts on the soil of England to retrieve these reverses, and Eadmund, after the death of Ethelred, so far succeeded that the country was divided as in the day of the great Alfred between English king and Danish king along the Thames and Watling Street when death came to Eadmund and the Danish king Canute was acknowledged sole ruler of the realm.

After his marriage with Emma, Ethelred's widow, Canute called together the Witenagemot and obtained their election of him to the throne. He

trusted the English to such an extent that he sent his own troops back to Norway save a compact body of them, the Nuscarls, which served as a body-guard and declared the laws of Edgar those of the land. Canute's relations to Christianity became those of deference, thoughtfulness and devotion. Out of the anarchy following Canute's death and that of his unworthy sons came a cry from the people and a quick vote of the Witenagemot for a ruler of their own blood, Edward, the son of Ethelred and Emma. The thirty years of his life had been spent in Normandy, where he had fully learned the ways and speech of the land, and had so inclined him to piety and the monastic life that he was afterward known as Edward the Confessor. Soon after his accession he married Eadgyth, the daughter of the great earl of Wessex, Godwine, who by his marriage and by placing large sections of England in the hands of his sons and other relatives was aiming to win the throne on Edward's death for his own family.

Norman favorites in the train of Edward began to find lucrative places, one, Robert of Jumieges, being made bishop of London, and Ulf, another of Edward's religious followers, being given the great see of Dorchester. The see of Canterbury becoming vacant the Norman party and the English wanted to fill it, but Edward raised Robert of London to it and civil war became imminent. Robert was the creature of Edward, as Aelfric, the candidate of the native party, would have been the creature of Godwine had it been given to him. An army summoned by Godwine stood on one side of the Thames and that of

Edward on the other but the national spirit was so developed through the church and other means that the leaders of the Witan deemed it unwise to fight. Godwine and his family being outlawed, fled, part to Flanders, part to Ireland. The Bishop of London, Spearhafoc, partisan of Godwine, was superseded by the chaplain of Edward, a Norman, and the wife of Edward was dismissed to a nunnery. No harsher measures than these against the great earl comported with the growing Christian consciousness of the realm guided by the devout king.

On the whole the influence of Godwine and his house upon the religious life was rather negative than positive. He pursued methods to secure the throne for his family that illy accorded with even the low Christian sentiment of his time. He founded no religious houses, and as matters went in that age such a failure might be regarded as a neglect if not a dislike of religion with one so rich and powerful.

Edward the Confessor under a vow had purposed a pious pilgrimage to Rome, but yielded to the outcry of his nobility and people against the plan for fear of Danish invasion, the pope granting him absolution from it. Instead he freed the people from the burdensome ship tax to pay hired sailors for the protected fleet, and furthered the project of building Westminster. This great foundation was the supremest purpose of the pious Confessor. From the pope he obtained the right to make it the place to crown the English sovereigns, a residence for Benedictine monks, and to be subject to the jurisdiction of the king only, not even the bishop of the diocese



to have any authority over it. Then an elaborate dedication of it took place, and five days after it the pious king died. His reign had been so mild, and so much directed by the spirit of Christianity that his sainthood was firmly established in the thought of the masses, for they deemed he had the power of prophecy and of working miracles.

But in spite of this reputation of the king a condition had obtained in the whole realm by which churchmen, like bishops and abbots, were appointed, not upon merit nor upon the suffrages of their chapters, but as a result of court intrigue and corruption. The king's authority was needed to give validity to such appointments, hence his own creatures mostly held the important posts. Nor was simony unknown. Indeed, it had made blots upon the nation's fame in most of this period. As early as 666 the see of London was bought by Bishop Wini. Indications of this evil are not lacking in all the history of the Anglo-Saxons, becoming a crying evil in the reign of Canute's sons, the high places going to him who could offer the most money for them. The Bernician bishopric was sold by Hathacanute to Eadred, a secular priest. Even in the reign of Edward, when so much sanctity was claimed in the conduct of ecclesiastical matters, the court, if not the king and Godwine, was tainted with the selling and buying of church positions. Much of this corruption could be charged up to the Norman favorites thronging the kingdom, their course in this being fully in accord with the spirit rife on the continent where the clergy from the lowest upward through all the hierarchy

including the popes, made the religious life putrid with this blasting crime.

During this period a new office, that of canons, was introduced into some of the cathedrals of England. The duties of the canons were partly those of the regular clergy, being attached to a cathedral, devoted to a common life, instructing the young. They also celebrated the divine offices, and performed some of the higher acts of charity. Each canon had his own separate estate, hence arose prebendary allotments to particular individuals. Out of this office grew the cathedral chapters. One earl, at least, in that age saw the worth of religious houses, Leofric of Mercia, who, with his wife, the devoted Godiva, founded a monastery at Coventry, conferred much gold and silver upon the abbey church, and founded also the monasteries of Leone and Wenlock, besides repairing and endowing others. In connection with the monastery town of Coventry arose the legend of Godiva's unhabilitated ride through the streets to free the people from a servile tenure.

The clouds portending the Norman Conquest were thickening over England. Duke William of Normandy claimed that Edward promised the succession to him in case he lacked descendants and the wily duke when holding Harold in his power also extracted a promise of the crown from him. For on the death of Godwine the great earldom of Wessex with other sources of power fell to Harold, and the schemes of Godwine to have his family occupy the throne appeared more and more sure of fulfillment.

Harold favored the secular clergy, deeming them on their parishes and married able to do better service to their country and in their age than celibate monks. When he founded his great secular college of Waltham he put these men and not monks in charge of it.

Edward died childless. At once the Witan elected Harold king. It was William's opportunity. To give his invasion the cast of sanctity he declared it his purpose to drive out the oathbreaker Harold, whose crime and sin must be very great, since the oath was extorted from Harold when he was helpless in the hands of his rival. Further, the pope's sanction being obtained and the royal banner being blessed by that royal successor of St. Peter, the movement assumed somewhat the form of a crusade. Harold, beset by other enemies, his own brother Tostig and a host of Norwegians at the north, bloodily defeated them in a terrific battle at Stamford Bridge, and at the same time a favorable wind wafted the fleet of William to the southern shores of England. Harold, though so illy prepared after the other struggle to meet the splendidly equipped army of the northern duke, did not fail to accept the menace and on the fateful field of Senlac lost kingdom and life the same day. William, like Canute, became an English king. He was duly elected by a Witenagemot called for that object, was crowned by Aeldred, archbishop of York, and announced that the laws of the land should remain unchanged.

## CHAPTER IX

The Norman Conquest had a profound influence on the religious life of England. It placed the people in more intimate relations with the continent, enlarging the vision by leading from the insular narrowness already manifesting itself. Progress in many ways was better on the continent than on the island. For several generations the decay of English life had been apparent even to many of the English themselves, showing itself in the backward condition of knowledge and thought, in the weak government, and most sadly in the corruptions of church and society. England was not as rapidly becoming a political power as France and other continental nations. The Norman occupancy by its very roughness and the shock it gave to the national spirit, by its strong sovereigns and educated prelates was to infuse new energy and to give the attrition needed for better national growth and purer religious development.

William on his coronation day swore to govern his new subjects with clemency and justice but ere-long discovered grounds to depart widely from those pacific promises. A part of what he deemed rights of conquest and means of retaining it was to change the prelates. He soon began systematic displacing of native prelates and substituting Norman churchmen on whom he could rely for sustaining his claim to sovereignty. From the start the English were

turbulent though the king sought to reconcile them to his sway by allowing them to retain their laws and customs as far as they could do so with safety. Many of William's followers promised rich booty in land, offices and honors, contemptuously despised the rough islanders, sneered at their appearance, their language and their church practices. English nobles like the prelates were set aside, their wide manors and domains distributed among the rapacious followers of William. Scores of churchmen brought from the continent were put in the dioceses and abbeys as soon as the king could find any decent excuse to remove the incumbents. Egelsin, abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, tried to placate the king and retain his place by conveying some rich manors into the possession of William's favorites, but seeing this was not enough to secure himself, he gathered the money and jewels of the monasteries and fleeing to Denmark never returned. Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester, stoutly pleaded for justice in his case and finally held his see, but this clemency was a lone exception. Schools were soon founded to teach the French language, as the conquerors despised what seemed to them the barbarous speech of the English. Before the Conquest bishoprics and abbeys were exempted from dues to the crown, but now their incumbents were compelled like the barons to furnish soldiers and bear other national burdens.

Some of the Norman prelates were displeased with the monks, claiming that the seculars were better adapted to the duties required than the others.

But Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, in his high position protected the monks. A synod, 1075, in London, decreed that no cleric was to act as judge where loss of limb or life was involved. Another synod a year later, decreed that no cleric should be married but if a priest having charge at a castle or village already had a wife he was not to put her away, and after that no bishop was to ordain one unless pledged not to marry. This hindered young men from taking orders. These rules of cleric marriage were not fully observed, the English church in this respect holding itself partly free. No layman was to marry without the priest's blessing, else it was sin.

William ordered the laws of the Confessor to be hunted up and codified for use, appointing twelve men under the bishop of London and the archbishop of York to find them and write them out. While deferring much to papal wishes, since his attack upon England had the blessing of that power, he was not as subservient as Rome desired. He confirmed the laws of tithe, promised the payment of Peter Pence, but utterly refused homage to the pope and would not admit official letters from his holiness to enter England until it was found that they suited his wishes.

In the Domesday Book, ordered in 1085, only about seventeen hundred churches are enumerated, though as many as forty-five thousand had been claimed for the country. The number given in the Domesday Book is for a part of the country only, the other number is plainly too large, so that

neither is reliable. Most of these churches had endowment in lands from a few acres to a hundred. William inaugurated a series of dual courts, church and civil, since before that time matters of both had been united in the same courts. This division, possibly of use then, was later to hatch a nest of active troubles. He had laws enacted for governing cases in each of these courts, and property that had been filched from the bishoprics and abbeys he had restored. Insistent as he was that only pious and educated men should be given clerical preferment, places of small account as well as great ones were gradually filled under his direction. The Battle Abbey built on the fateful field of Senlac was exempted from episcopal visitation. At this time Patrick, the bishop of Dublin, came to Lanfranc for confirmation, as did his immediate successor, Donogh, and others followed, some of these men working diligently for the reformation and progress of the religious life in Ireland. The bishop of the Orcades also sought confirmation of the archbishop of York.

Lanfranc, with all his modesty, was a tireless worker for religion, rebuilding dilapidated cathedrals and monasteries, was learned, the author of several works of church service as well as a successful antagonist of Beranger who wrote against the real presence of Christ in the consecrated bread of the sacrament. The real presence had become a general tenet in the western church and Beranger for combating it was cited as a heretic before councils, popes and cardinals, there to recant, only

to deny his recantation when out of danger. After the riot of Glastonbury, the bishop of Salisbury devised a plan of church service used over all England and known as the "Use of Sarum."

William Rufus on his accession found immense treasure in the king's hoard, of which according to his father's will, for the benefit of his soul, Rufus gave to each of the greater churches ten marks, to the smaller ones five shillings, and to each county a hundred pounds for distribution among the poor. The pleasing promises of the new king were soon ignored, the see of Canterbury after Lanfranc's death, was left vacant three years, the income going into the king's hands. In like manner clutching the income of other prelates' places as they became vacant, and those of abbots as well, the king used the means for his own selfish purposes instead of devoting them piously to charitable or public ends. In vivid contrast to the distress and lax discipline prevailing through the course of the English king, Scotland, under the benign influence of Queen Margaret over the rugged Malcolm enjoyed a most pleasant religious life, churches being built with other proofs of progress.

The Crusades broke out during these times and Robert, the brother of William Rufus mortgaged the duchy of Normandy to the English king for money with which to go on a crusade. To raise the money the king laid exorbitant taxes upon his people, sold church ornaments, plundered altars of their rich offerings, even tearing the gold and silver ornaments from the Bibles in the cathedrals.



As it was a holy cause the primate aided the king in raising this money.

In 1091, the great abbey of Croyland was burned, the fire consuming about seven hundred precious manuscript books, large and small, with other choice treasures. The ways entered upon to rebuild it give us rare glimpses of the inner life. Special indulgences were granted by adjacent bishops to those aiding the work, nobles and the lower people contributing money, food, live stock and many other means, one poor old woman, Juliana of Weston, as the widow's mite, giving thread spun by her own hand to sew the garments of the monks. A new abbot, Jaffrid, from Normandy, coming a few years later was not satisfied with the poor buildings and sought means to build again. He did this by selling remittances of penances and fasts in various dioceses, sending out monks to find this money in a manner similar to Tetzels sales that so aroused Luther four centuries later. When the foundations of the great monastery were laid, a noble would put in one stone and then lay on it a sum of money, twenty pounds, another ten marks, or a journeyman's labor for a year, patronage of a church, tithes of all his sheep and the like. This Jaffrid instituted flagellations upon himself on Good Friday in which distressing course he was followed by his monks.

On the accession of Henry First, a younger brother of William Rufus, he took steps at once to clear his court of the vileness blackening it under his brother's course. In his coronation oath he

promised to restore the laws of Edward and William First. He filled the sees of Canterbury, Winchester and Salisbury, kept vacant by his brother who used their income for his own purposes, and promised, though he did not keep the pledge, not to sell benefices or use their income. The noble work a prelate could do if so disposed was shown in Thomas, archbishop of York, who died the same year. He was a man of great learning and diligent in his labors. His province he found most demoralized but in many ways he restored it. He filled the vacant canonships, built the cathedral, placing in it an extensive library, wrote books, composed hymns, introduced choirs and divided the diocese into archdeaconries.

On Robert's return from the Crusade, finding Henry on the throne instead of William Rufus, he deemed it usurpation. Appealing to arms he landed an army on English soil, but the men of England, barons and prelates, Anselm among them, succeeding in effecting a settlement without war. The agreement was that Henry should pay four thousand marks a year, the crown to descend to Robert's issue if none was left by Henry. This danger past the quarrel over investiture began anew, both Henry and Anselm appealing to the pope. The pope insisted that the investitures by the king were void, but there being great influence in the party of the king, the archbishop consented for the time to communicate with those given investiture by Henry but not to consecrate them. Among other things Henry agreed to restore to Canterbury and Anselm the ben-

efits of that province. In spite of synod and prelates marriage of the priests went on, many of them seeming to think that nature's laws and God's word in favor of it were above the action of canon law, councils and synods against it. In various ways besides in the matter of investiture the pope was laying claim to supremacy in England. When the pope tried to impose a legate upon England the king refused to accept him. One going to Rome with an appeal, or on church business, had, in order to gain his purpose, to give large bribes which were more potent than justice or righteousness.

The building of great religious houses went on during the Norman period. Carlisle devastated near the end of the tenth century by the Danes had lain in ruins till William Rufus rebuilt it, and in Henry First's time the locality was made a bishopric. A college was also erected, the diocese including the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland. At Chichester a magnificent monastery was built for the canons who were now without benefices, all property being renounced and vows taken of constancy, obedience and poverty. Another monastery was built at Dunstable, and one for the Cluniacs at Reading, all of these foundations being richly endowed, the inmates freely distributing alms to the passers-by.

Stephen, on being elected king, gave a renewed charter favorable to the church only to neglect it when he was fully in the saddle. Theobald became archbishop of Canterbury and was another of those great prelates who did noble service if church pre-

assumptions against the assumptions of Norman sovereigns was of worth to the realm. At a synod in Westminster in 1138, it was ordered that clerics who went hunting or entered secular affairs for enriching themselves should be suspended, and similar prohibition was declared against their taking arms, though a bishop at the north had just led a force against the Scot invaders. The same synod declared that any cleric who was married was doomed to hell.

Between Henry Second and his primates arose one of those great contests between the secular national life and the claim of clerical supremacy. Thomas Becket had been an intimate companion of Henry for some years, was educated, courtly, able, and had finally been elevated to the chancellorship. Finding that rich manors belonging to Canterbury had been bestowed upon court favorites, Becket claimed their return and being refused so stood upon his rights that he excommunicated the claimants, which exasperated the court and turned even the king away from his archbishop. The archbishop claimed the control of church courts in all cases even when clerics were guilty of murder, robbery and other high crimes. The contest drew the eyes of the continental powers since it was with them as with Henry. Appealing to the customs and laws of the past in the realm, Henry collected what was known as the Constitutions of Clarendon. These really made a strong position for Henry's contentions. By these laws the king's consent was needed for the election of bishop or abbot, these men hold-

ing their land as a barony from the king, subject to the usual taxation and appearance in court.

Becket, awhile after signing the Constitutions, repudiated them but for a moment seemed reconciled to Henry. After one of the unsatisfactory settlements Becket returned to Canterbury and Henry was in Normandy. At a passing cause of exasperation the king let fall some reproach that of the many he kept about him none freed him from that insolent priest. This was taken by some of them as a bid for the primate's life, and four knights, making their way to Canterbury sustained by a rabble and even by some clerics, assassinated Becket in his church. No one was more horrified than the king who did not intend to have such an extremity reached. To the pope he disclaimed the purpose to have Becket killed, the four assassins found no favor with him but as frightened fugitives were put under heavy penances, one punishment being to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem where at least three of them died. For his part Henry modified the Constitutions of Clarendon, promised to undertake a crusade of three years, to have the Templars keep two hundred soldiers a year at his expense, to bring back the banished clergy and restore their estates, and other pledges were made by him and by the heir apparent. At the tomb of Becket it was said that miracles began to take place. Pilgrimages were made to it, the pope canonized him, and in succeeding years, his shrine having become one of the most noted in Christendom vast sums of money as offerings of the pious were laid upon it.

## CHAPTER X

In 1173 Henry personally conducted a campaign in Ireland, some of his troops having invaded it before, as the pope had given permission to be done. On their subjection the Irish clergy agreed that it was a just judgment of Heaven for their trade in English slaves and they promised to set them free. Four archbishops had been set up in Ireland, Armagh, Cashel, Dublin, and Tuam, with twenty-nine suffragan bishops all dependent upon the English hierarchy. The ritual used was similar to that of England. In Scotland much the same dependence upon England existed, though certain restlessness and a wish to be independent of the southern neighbor marked the Scots as well as the Irish.

By action of the synods we can get insight into the religious life not otherwise obtained. Thus one held in Normandy when Henry abjured a part of the Constitutions of Clarendon under remorse at Becket's death, decreed that children or minors were not to be admitted to benefices. The sons of priests for the taint upon their legitimacy and to prevent clerics from becoming a hereditary class, were not to succeed their fathers in church living. If a husband or wife in years desired to join a religious house permission was not given if the other preferred to remain secular. None could be permitted to escape fasting upon Lent unless ill, and clerks must shun secular jurisdiction. Another synod de-

creed that a priest drinking at a public house should be degraded, and if they let their hair grow long it should be cropped by the archdeacon. They must not obtain orders out of their own diocese nor should vicars encroach upon the rights of rectors, clandestine marriage was forbidden since all must be married in a church, infant marriage being null unless when they were grown up they consented to it, a church must not be given as a dower, monks must not turn farmer or soldier or merchant. The bread of the eucharist must not be dipped into the wine and the wine must be consecrated only in a gold or silver vessel.

To help the administration of justice Henry divided the kingdom into six sections with two justices in each, and the Constitutions of Clarendon were mostly followed. The Council of Rome, 1179, that excommunicated the Albigenses and Waldenses, had delegates from all parts of Britain, some of the English clergy being among those sent to bring these heretics to orthodoxy.

Richard First, the Lion Hearted, came to the throne in 1189, his first great purpose being to go on a crusade to the Holy Land. To raise money to go Richard sold manors and earldoms, the bishop of Durham buying the earldom of Northumbria together with the manor of Sudbury and the knights belonging to it. Richard unfortunately left rule in England in the hands of two justiciars who fell into a quarrel in which the clergy and even the pope took a part, one of the justiciars having to flee the kingdom. In conduct most heartless the nobles and

royal family indulged in the disorders. The savage spirit of that age seemed to have been let loose with scarcely any check. When Richard, fearing usurpation by John, made a truce with the Saracens and was hastening to England, and was captured and held by the German emperor for a great ransom, the churches at home raised the first payment by selling their rich plate and ornaments and by taxing the clergy, for the king had been engaged in holy war. Then because the emperor would not return the money given for ransoming a crusader, the pope excommunicated him.

John, coming to the throne in 1199, soon showed the inability that later was to alienate the papacy at one time and the nation at another. Two men by opposing parties had been elected to the archbishopric of Canterbury, but both were set aside by the pope, who had the English monks in Rome elect Stephen Langton. John objected to receiving Langton, and the pope, taking strenuous steps to have his way, sent three bishops, of London, Worcester and Ely, to beg and threaten. The embassy of the three bishops did not move John from his objections to Langton. His incorrigibility led the pope to put the kingdom under interdict.

When the country had suffered some time under the interdict John consented to receive Langton but with such saving clauses in the letter patent that the bishops knew the pope would not accept it. Most of the bishops, afraid of the king, fled oversea, John ordering all who abetted them also to leave the island. Of those clergy remaining the king ordered



his sheriffs to seize their revenues and to leave only a bare pittance for the incumbent. The priests were mercilessly robbed, their wives mulcted, the king seeming mad against the church. In 1209 the pope excommunicated the recusant king, the fugitive bishops being ordered by the pope to send the news of it into England which they secretly did. Bitter was the contest.

To complete the drama the pope deposed John. Philip Augustus of France, moved no doubt by certain mercenary motives, gathered a great armament to invade England, the pope granting plenary indulgence to all who would enter upon the crusade and offering the kingdom to Philip in fee simple. Finally John, fearing that his nobility and people whom he had so wronged would not sustain him, and fearing also that the excommunication would cost him his eternal welfare, yielded abjectly, taking oath that he submitted to the demands of the church. Thus beaten, humiliated, the king resigned the kingdoms of England and Ireland into the hands of the papacy, thence to receive them again as fiefs of that power. When the banished prelates returned, the king cast himself in tears at their feet, whence raising him they conducted him to the cathedral and absolved him, while he pledged himself to revive the laws of Edward and to do all in his power for the church and clergy. Still the interdict was not raised, remaining in practical force for six years.

Early in 1215 the barons made insistent pleas for him to redeem his pledges, the king answering that

by Easter he would fulfill his pledges, promising also to meet his promise to go on a crusade. At that date the barons threatened force, the king in hot blood rejected their demands, the prelates joined the movement for better government and on the grassy field of Runnymede the baffled king, after conference with these representatives of the nation, granted the Magna Carta. It confirmed previous charters based upon that of Henry First, with many new provisions offering to England an advanced guarantee of rights such as a Christian people had learned to expect. The church was granted the privilege to elect its bishops and abbots. John at once sent a remonstrance to the pope, saying that the charter was drawn from him by force. That prelate at once declared the charter void. He wrote to the barons protesting first, and then excommunicating them, to which they paid no heed. The king with hired mercenaries unavailingly fought the barons. Papal control of England was giving way. Religious independence from that time was more than before a factor in England. The contest over Magna Carta continued with John and the pope on one side and the English people on the other.

His successor, Henry Third, a lad of ten years, was compelled by the legate to do homage for the kingdom. But later Henry Fourth swore to give the English people all the rights claimed by his father for the barons. Magna Carta was renewed. Indeed so much did the people regard it as the palladium of their rights that successive sovereigns con-

firmed it more or less times till the historian can count thirty-eight such ratifications.

The synods in their legislation give views even by their prohibitions of the progressing religious life. One at Oxford in 1222 decreed excommunication against those injuring the church in any of its rights, or disturbing the peace of the kingdom, decreed the same against any guilty of perjury or insubordination or refusing to execute the king's writs against those excommunicated. It said that the clergy must not take part in trials involving the loss of life, they must preach often and visit the sick. Abbots, priors and abbesses must not take money of those entering monastic life nor could monks make the wills of people taking that step.

The Romish pressure continued for money so much that the land was greatly impoverished. The pope's draft upon the clergy was one-twentieth of their property, then one-fifteenth, and again one-tenth. The relations between the people and the pope became acute. Mathew Paris, writing of those times, gives a most distressing picture. The rights of the English church were lost, ignoble prelates sent from Rome trampled upon religious privileges, interference from Rome became more and more exasperating, charity died, religion was held in contempt, for there was none but such as was represented by the venial creatures from Rome, property was seized, no Englishman could secure a prominent place, and general degeneracy blighted all things.

Henry confirmed Magna Carta only to violate its provisions. The Parliament in Oxford, 1258, un-

dertook to correct some of the royal abuses, a commission of twenty-four being appointed for this purpose, one-half from the king's Council and one-half named by the barons. The reforms looked toward correcting trespasses of the law, excess of demands, conduct of king's officers, to secure tenants from unjust exactions of their lords and that Parliament must be held three times a year. But the plan was a comparative failure since dissensions came into the commission and the king was left to his own despotic ways. The pope permitted Henry to violate the provisions of Oxford made by the "Mad Parliament," and he and his sons gathered an army, met the barons on the field of Lawes, and defeated them.

## CHAPTER XI

In the thirteenth century occurred one of those remarkable revivals that have several times marked the religious life of England. In the third decade of that century the two kindred orders of monks, the Dominicans and the Franciscans, came from the continent where they had already succeeded most admirably in arousing all classes of Christian workers. The Dominicans had begun to teach in the universities the other side of the Channel and here they at once pushed to Oxford, beginning the activities there which soon gave them a commanding place in that school. This place of vantage they held through the decades following. Both orders were pledged to poverty and other monastic vows and they seem at first to have observed them.

The Franciscans went among the lowly people as quickly as the Dominicans went into the universities. There was call for such ministries, since the condition of the masses already crowding into the great cities, was most deplorable. Poverty, disease, squalor, despair, had accumulated with such collection of the masses. They were neglected by the parish priests and by the old monastic orders, the Cluniacs, Cistercians, and others, yet in their ignorance and lowliness they knew their religious needs and the worth of the gospel messages of the Franciscans. The monks came to them clad only in coarse gray garments such as the common people

wore, they went barefoot, lived in the meanest hovels, ate the humblest fare and slept on straw or on a board. Their teaching and preaching were of the plainest kind, the simplest truths of the gospel, with quaint words, apt stories, rude illustrations.

The people listened and were appreciative of the self-sacrificing spirit of the newcomers. They flocked to hear the evangel, causing them to mend their ways and lives, so that uplift and change to better things passed from slums and lowly things to the upper classes and to their abodes. Hospitals, lazar houses, monasteries, were established, a spirit of human sympathy as never before pervaded the nation. Parish priests, monks, officials, bishops, were profoundly moved with new energies. Many gutters of corruption were filled instead with honest dealings and purity of life. Medical skill learned by the Franciscans ministered to the afflicted. Leprosy, so prevalent in those centuries, was a special thought of their care.

In time the Franciscans went into the universities like the Dominicans. One product of their mental and spiritual activity was that monkish marvel, Roger Bacon. In him was centered all the learning of the age so that the pope sent from Rome for a statement of his knowledge and the great scholar with scanty recognition labored years for the bishop of Rome. Other scholars scarcely less able than he were also produced among the crowds that thronged to the lectures of those admirable teachers. But after two or three generations it became the old story of the orders before them,—they grew rich,

having evaded their vows of poverty, they built great monasteries which became places far removed from their original vocation, negligence came as a disease, they grew lazy, corrupt, and much of the good coming in the great revival was lost, but not all. The uplift of the people partly remained from which they never wholly sank back.

An important synod was held in London in 1268 under the presidency of the papal legate, Othobon, in which rules were laid down that, in some cases, have been used in the English church ever since. No pay was allowed for baptism and that service was carefully looked after by the archdeacons and parish clergy, strong ground was taken against non-residency and intrusion, it renewed the right of sanctuary, enjoined public marriages, and the bishops were not allowed to bequeath the various livings. If private chapels were built they were not to use the living of the incumbent, nor were parish tithes to be alienated from him. Excommunication was to be taken off publicly, vigorous action was entered on against pluralities, simony or commendams, bishops elect were to be examined in life and doctrine, while secular business was forbidden the churches.

The custom now grew up for the laity to take the sacrament in only one kind. They were told that both the body and blood of the Savior were present in consecrated bread but that the consecrated wine as the real blood of Christ was to be drunk by priests alone. At first this new custom was introduced only among the very ignorant

classes. The sacrament was not to be given to any one unconfessed and children baptized by a layman were not afterward to be baptized by a priest. Instead of hiding the sin of incest and kindred ones in a priest the penance must be open. Priests were required so to instruct the people that they would not be ignorant of the teachings of the church. Every quarter of the year they must tell the people of the fourteen articles of faith, the ten commandments, the two evangelical precepts of love, the seven works of mercy, the seven deadly sins, the seven principal virtues, the seven sacraments. Of the articles of faith seven pertained to the mystery of the Trinity and seven to the humanity of Christ. The seven deadly sins were pride, envy, anger, hatred, aversion to good and to religion, covetousness and epicureanism. The seven principal virtues were faith, hope, charity, prudence, temperance, justice, fortitude. The seven sacraments were baptism, confirmation, penance, eucharist, extreme unction, orders, matrimony. The priests besides teaching these doctrines were required to preach upon points of faith and doctrine. The people were required to be present every Sunday at church to learn the faith.

Edward Second, coming to the throne in 1307, soon aroused commotion among the clergy by his levities, the matter so attracting the attention of the pope that his interference provoked the king to question his rights. Edward granted some of the chaplains pluralities, and the bishop of Chester, who had reproved him for his misconduct, he cast for a brief time into prison.



The Knights Templars, an outgrowth of the Crusades, who did valiant services in Palestine and in the Mediterranean against the Saracens became rich, had their houses in various countries of Europe, the result of their wealth being that they fell into such corruption and intemperance that it was considered necessary to suppress them. The rough spirit of the age decreed this in 1312 at the Council of Vienna when the governments of Europe proceeded to carry out the papal mandate. In England they were seized, imprisoned, scattered for penance among the monasteries and their property turned over to the kindred order of Hospitallers.

An important document was drawn up by the archbishop of Canterbury, owing to the difference of opinion of the right person to have charge of the parish. This paper, by its prohibitions, at least defined negatively the duties of the parish priest, and being made a law of Parliament called "*Articuli Cleri*," has had an effect upon the relations of state and church all the way downward. It recognized the fact that power in the crown of England is the source of English constitution. When the archbishop died, the people, counting him a saint, so crowded to his tomb that it had to be torn down. In contrast to this the succeeding archbishop, Walter Reynolds, on coming to the see secured eight bulls from the pliant pope so absolving him from canon law that he was allowed pluralities, the income of any collegiate church or cathedral, pardon for crimes against clerks or others.

Under Edward Third matters became worse if

possible and one wonders if the teaching of the church all those centuries was not almost in vain. One ray of light was that a strong anti-cleric feeling was engendered which gave promise of relief from the corrupting hierarchy. In London and elsewhere the clergy were murdered in the recurring riots. In a contemporary song shocking bloodshed is shown, the prelates are represented as so covered with pride and covetousness as to drive divine peace out of the land. Truth was forbidden in the court of Rome and dared not appear among the cardinals, simony and covetousness had the world at will. When a church became vacant, so the song declared, he who could give the most money to patron and bishop, obtained it. Abbots and priors rode with horses and hounds like knights, while poor men cowered all day at abbey-gates with hunger and cold.

Holy days became days of riot instead of devotion. The pope would name some one to fill an important place against its becoming vacant and then exact money for the promise of it. This led to the famous "Provisors." Still another ray of light shone in such moral night. The cities were growing rich, burghers were increasing, villagers were thinking and questioning about their rights, intellect was astir, where all the money went was asked, and the anti-cleric feeling was especially bitter against the great ecclesiastical houses which stood in their immense wealth so vividly in contrast with the squalid living of the people.

## CHAPTER XII

The Black Death coming about the middle of the fourteenth century from the east made direct devastations over Europe before the end of the century. Owing to the limited medical insight and to the lack of sanitary understanding, the ravages were incomprehensible, a large share of the people dying off, computed in some countries at one-half. As the pestilence spread prelates tried to stop its ravages by processions and by stations in the churches. None seemed to think of sanitation. It was a time when the noblest heroism could be shown or the most abject cowardice. Both can be traced. In England some priests stood nobly by, and ministering, died; others fled from their parishes and posts, vainly hoping to escape from the clutch of the destroyer. The various religious houses, owing to their crowded and unsanitary conditions, suffered terribly; many of them were totally depopulated and never again occupied; others were so denuded and frightened that the ordinary offices of religion were neglected, their property was ruined and their land became unproductive. So few priests were left in some parts that believers confessed to one another. Extreme unction was passed over and faith allowed as a substitute.

High church officials sent out exhortations to the people to confess sins, to repeat forms of prayer and psalms, form processions and undertake other

religious services. In it all church growth in the century was checked, and few new buildings were erected. Doubtless the people learning that many of the offices of religion could be done by themselves, and being taught to pray directly to the Heavenly Father, reached a higher type of religious faith than before.

Besides these various changes in church life the Black Death in another way deeply influenced the people toward better things. A general uplift of the lower classes taking place, from that time onward those classes were never remanded to so low a degree as before they had been compelled to occupy. The startling death rate made the laborers so decrease that the call for work from those remaining was such that wages arose to an unprecedented price and even then the ordinary labor could not be secured. Servile labor almost totally ceased. Claim for higher pay was demanded by the parish priests, for along with the decay of industries had come an increase in the cost of living. Before the plague the ordinary pay of a parish priest had been five marks a year; now they would not serve for less than ten pounds. Money was then worth about twenty times as much as now. The bishops generally refused sympathy to the parish priests who were asking for higher pay, as the king stood related to the laborers demanding better wages. By various causes the classes drifted farther apart, king from subject, bishop from clergy, land owner from peasant.

Two important laws, Provisors and Premuinire,

were enacted about the middle of the century, which, with the changes in social life, the quickening of intellect, the spirit of independence developing, were leading to a new order of things. Wyclif and Chaucer and Langland were near. To this time the baronage and clergy had worked much together, now they were drifting apart. In a population of three millions there were about twenty-five thousand clergy and these it was claimed had one-third of England's real estate and an income twice as large as the king's. Even among themselves the clerics were at odds, the higher ones busy in politics and in little else, the lower shackled by poverty, regulars at swords' points with the seculars. The universities complained that the friars were lessening their students, yet in it all the people were climbing upward and feeling firmer ground under their feet.

As his people demanded rights when he asked for money Edward granted mitigations of hard royal customs. Withal Edward was a pious prince, for having refused peace proposals before the gates of Paris, though urged by papal legates to do so, when a mighty storm arose in which thousands were dying about him he flung himself from his horse and with outstretched arms vowed to the Virgin of Chartres and to God that he would no longer reject such proposals. Then as peace was made he and John of France knelt together on the platform of the church at Calais, with their hands on the Missal and Paternoster.

The mutterings of the great movements of Wyclif's time were beginning to attract notice.

Fault was again being found by Parliament with so many places being filled by foreigners and the king ordered every bishop to make investigations and report to the Chancery. The unrest, the cry for truth, and the spirit of progress were at last to find a potent voice. Wyclif was in action. For twenty years he had been lecturing, writing, thinking, growing. By 1368 Wyclif was attracting notice by advancing propositions striking at the government of the church and its vast property.

Wyclif was thoroughly educated in the universities of western Europe, was of acute intellect, of fearless spirit, of prodigious industry, one of the ablest men ever produced by the Anglo-Saxon race. That he was a bold thinker and able speaker was shown by his lectures to the Oxford students. Wyclif's first great book, sent out in 1368, was "The Kingdom of God," basing his objection of paying tribute to Rome upon the fact that God is alone the great Ruler. He struck a national chord strung to that touch. The people from archbishop to peasant felt this but had scarcely dared say so. Then his doctrine that relations between God and man were effective without the interference of a priesthood was to the clergy a frightful one. Wyclif further taught that the priesthood had no real right to the vast riches gathered into its hand, that those riches could be seized and used for the nation's needs, and he adjured the clergy to dispossess themselves of it, and return to apostolic simplicity.

The Convocation cited Wyclif before Bishop Courtenay of London to answer the accusation of

heresy. Wyclif responded to the citation at St. Paul's, a discussion arose, in the tumult no trial could be given, and Wyclif was rescued from the mob by soldiers. Then a papal bull was sent to the University of Oxford to condemn and arrest him but he bade defiance to the order, boldly asserting that no man could be excommunicated unless first his conduct was such that he did that for himself. He claimed that ecclesiastical questions and the clergy should be subject to the civil courts, in this having the mass of Englishmen with him. He did obey, however, the summons of the archbishop to appear at Lambeth palace to answer accusations, but a sharp word from court stayed proceedings, and a London mob broke up the primate's course.

It was now 1381, four years from the conflict with the bishop of London. During this time had occurred the Peasants' Revolt, for which historians have been unable to make Wyclif responsible, though many at that time thought he was. He denied transubstantiation, the dogma of the real presence of the blood and body of Christ in the consecrated bread and wine of the eucharist. By denying this cardinal doctrine of the Romish church, he was entering the thin tip of the wedge which, driven home by Luther and his coadjutors a century and a half later, was to separate forever the northern nations from the false tenets sent out from Rome and from the incubus of the papacy. It was a mighty step forward for Wyclif, and a dangerous one. It was the baldest, terriblest heresy. For heresy of vastly less moment men had already scorched and died at

the stake. One cannot but marvel at the supreme bravery of the man. But he knew he was right. Court and hierarchy were against him. The university now condemned him. But to all he answered that they might show his teachings to be false if they were able.

But he was not to stop here in his teachings. It was not long before he denied pardons as made by the clergy, also indulgences and absolutions; further, he repudiated utterly pilgrimages to saints' shrines, the worship of their images and of the saints themselves. He did these things by an appeal to the English people in a series of tracts written in the vernacular, the earliest use of it made by a master. By it he practically became the founder of English prose. It was a brave attitude to take toward the powers of the hierarchy, revolutionary toward the traditions wrought into the very life of the church, and subversive of the faith trusted in for centuries. Again cited before a synod, that of the Earthquake, at London, he stayed away, but touched with supreme irony a union of the prelates and monks against him with "Herod and Pontius Pilate are made friends to-day." Though in failing health he begged of the king to let him prove publicly the truth of these new teachings. He also asked that all religious vows which were such a burden to many might be suppressed, that tithes might be given to the poor and the clergy supported by the free offerings of the people. He urged that the statutes of Provisors and Premunire should be enforced against papal im-



sitions, that no churches should hold secular office, and that imprisonment under the order of excommunication might have an end.

The man was growing old and feeble. Oxford was forced to expel him from among her teachers. A quiet living, Lutterworth, was given him, but even now his grandest work for the religious life of the English people was to be done. That was to give them a translation of the Bible from the classical languages into their own tongue. Helped by able fellow laborers, by Nicholas of Hereford, and when he was imprisoned at Rome, aided by Purvey, an able student, Wyclif persevered until the book was all put into the speech of the common people. Of the New Testament it is known that Matthew and Mark were done by Wyclif's own hand. With this mighty power to use he was making great headway in bringing to the people such opportunities to think and act for themselves as never had been granted them.

To help forward the truth he instituted a method of work that under the impulse of the man and the times was most effective. He organized a band of "poor preachers" to go out among the people of the country, these itinerants taking with them the new Bible to teach and preach, somewhat as the mendicant friars had done till indolence and wealth ruined them. Wyclif's "poor preachers" went clad in the russet garments of the English peasants, had no pay, lived on the gifts of the poor people among whom they went, and preaching and teaching the new principles of the reformer everywhere met with

the heartiest welcome. In the growing municipalities, like Oxford, London, Bristol, Leicester, and others, the doctrines of Wyclif had deepest hold. His work was not to be narrowed by a sect. The queen was a princess of Bohemia, and partly by her help the new doctrine was carried to her native land to touch another Wyclif, John Huss, whose teachings of the new way were to shake that kingdom for a generation, but finally to be drowned in the blood of its leaders and believers.

The Lollards, who figured so prominently in the age of Wyclif, were in their name and origin, if not in their labors, an obscure folk. London was the center of their activities, while the midland towns were also strongly given to their teachings. Had some great leader arisen after Wyclif, like Luther or Wesley, it is possible that vastly more would have come of the movement. As Henry Fourth ascended the bloody throne the alarm caused by the subversive Lollards grew more stirring. They now dared an appeal to Parliament setting forth their opinions and their remonstrances against the conditions about them. In their zeal they declared that since the church had yielded its temporalities to Rome, faith, hope and charity had left her communion. They strongly protested against the Romish priesthood, celibacy, and transubstantiation, declared that exorcism and necromancy were more trusted in than religion, urged that cleric and secular power should not be held by the same man, nor should men go on pilgrimages, offer prayers and oblations to the images or to the dead, and uttered

their remonstrance against auricular confession and war and capital punishment, as well as against unnecessary trades like that of goldsmiths and sword cutlers.

In 1401 the famous Statute of Heresy was enacted by Parliament. The bishops were given a free hand to arrest and imprison all preachers of heresy, all schoolmasters affected with heretical teachings, all owners and writers of heretical books, and if after recantation they relapsed, they were to be turned over to the civil power and burned on a high place before the people. Now came a startling epoch in English history. William Sautre, priest of St. Osyth parish, London, having once recanted came voluntarily before the Parliament to defend what he had once recanted. Being accounted a relapse, he was arrested, convicted, and being turned over to the civil authorities was burned at the stake. William Thorpe, a priest, issued writings of such a nature, a violent attack upon the established order, that he was accused of being a Lollard, yet his teachings were not definite enough to send him to the stake but only to prison. These writings became so popular that in their wide distribution they were called "Thorpe's Testament." As the teachings of Wyclif were getting current among the students of Oxford it was ordered that any one tainted with those teachings should be expelled.

The opinions of Wyclif, selected from his books in large numbers were condemned in full congregation at Oxford, and when further to suppress Lollardism the archbishop essayed to visit Oxford, the

university refused to extend an invitation to him, pleading papal privilege, but the king exasperated by such a refuge compelled an invitation. The heads of the institution resigned and the students threatened to leave. New faculties were elected and the pope annulled previous privileges. Still more of Wyclif's teachings to the number of three hundred were denounced as heretical and also censured by the archbishops and pope. The archbishop begged that the bones of Wyclif might be dug from consecrated ground, but this the pope refused, it being the infamous order later of the Council of Constance to do that.

Besides Wyclif and the Lollards the Peasants' Revolt helped to make memorable the latter part of the fourteenth century. If a careful scrutiny is given of that movement, several causes appear which doubtless help to explain it. Even those lower classes had begun to think. Thinking human beings are not content in servitude. Masters have always dreaded thinking slaves. Modern slavery would not permit its servitors to learn letters.

The spirit of democracy aroused and fostered by a wider knowledge of Christianity was another active means leading to that revolt. Modern democracy is largely a result of the teachings of the Galilean Peasant. As those teachings were learned by the English, giving glimpses of human rights, there arose a spirit of assertion, consonant, too, with the old Teutonic claim to man's freedom which had under the feudal rule so long been denied the lowly.

Many of the small holdings of the people had been

obtained by the religious houses, the monks when people were dying soliciting property for their houses. Many of the nobility, also, by the surprising habits of litigation into which the people fell, and by the subtle courses of the lawyers, became the devourers of the smaller allotments of the lower classes. Still another very forceful cause of unrest and most repulsive to violence was the great burden of taxes and the remorseless way the collectors exacted them of the poverty-smitten people. Between the king's wars and the pope's extravagances property was ground to a very thin substance. The privileges of the upper classes both in state and church were in such contrast to the condition of the lower classes as to be well-nigh unbearable.

And yet much all along had been done for the poor and needy in a systematic way. A sick fund was made a national concern for the aged, or for ill paupers, the landlords paying a tenth of their produce, in some instances, into collegiate churches for the sick, the monks becoming the almoners for such charity funds. Royal hands often poured out money bounteously to meet indigent needs. A special ward was held open in the monasteries for tramps who were kept in it over night and the next day, well fed, departed to find work or continue tramping. Even the Crusades were a help to the poor, for with the turbulent spirits away, the clergy could better carry on their peaceful work. For some of the pastors were always preaching emancipation seeking manumission of serfs and slaves at the death bed of the nobility as a merit in

heaven, the clergy often setting an example of these things in their own estates. The Crusaders returning with enlarged views could appreciate the good work thus done by the clerics, and uphold it.

## CHAPTER XIII

By the close of the thirteenth century the Crusades had run their course for two hundred years. As in all great world movements there was a blending of good and evil in them. To rescue the city and sepulcher of Jesus from the hands of another religious faith was the core of the movement, that being the burden of Peter the Hermit's preaching and of Urban at the Council of Clermont. Plenary absolution and indulgence were granted those going and many other ecclesiastical immunities. No wonder in so rude and warlike an age, when hardly a man's hand was stainless of another man's blood, that the promise of remission of sins in this life and certain felicity in the other were strong incentives to go on a crusade. If primarily a religious movement, pillage, war, adventure, sightseeing, were not forgotten. Edward, before coming to the kingship, evidently thought he could do his father good service by leading turbulent spirits out of the kingdom to use their energies against the Saracens. To raise money for this crusade a tenth of church revenues for three years was granted and one-thirtieth of all the goods of the laity, rich and poor. The pope and clergy entered with much energy into the purpose of the Crusades, declaring inviolate the property or province of one on a crusade, using excommunication and other church weapons in their defense. If one taking vows to go backed out, he was refused admittance to any

church, and interdicts were extended over his property and lands. Such a one could, however, escape by heavy penance, many churches and other religious houses being built by those delinquents.

Akin to the crusade in spirit was the passion for pilgrimages. Rome, after Jerusalem, was the city most attractive for devotees, many men and women counting greatly on the religious merit gained for both worlds by having visited the holy city, for having seen the pope and received his blessing, and for worshiping and praying at its holy places. Just at the close of the fourteenth century a remarkable tide of such pilgrimages set towards Rome, people flocking there by millions. The English people were not behind others. By such pilgrimages the papacy was magnified in two ways at least, money being so freely given that priests stood at the altars with rakes to pull it uncounted into the coffers. Then these devotees would return to their home lands, happy with the sense of the papal blessing or other favor, to be strenuous supporters of His Holiness.

But most pilgrimages were not as pretentious as those to Rome or Jerusalem. The tombs of specially devout saints or of some renowned martyr, the cell of a noted anchorite, or shrine of peculiar sanctity, attracted multitudes. The shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham was frequented by thousands to worship and pray, or else to secure healing of their maladies. From the start Becket's tomb at Canterbury became a place to which the devout, the curious and fashionable crowded, and the widely read Canterbury Tales



are of a party representative, it may be supposed, of English life going on a pilgrimage to that tomb. It was the plan and study of the monks to secure sacred and remunerative relics. To obtain such relics even violence, broken heads and bleeding wounds were given and received over the dead body of some one likely to bring pilgrims and money to a religious house.

When, in 1413, Henry Fifth came to the throne, he threw aside the companions of his youthful exuberance and undertook to lead a clean and pious life. The day of his father's death he spent in privacy and prayer with his chosen confessor, a recluse of Westminster. He appealed to the clergy and the laity to show their Christian activity and character. But the fearful Lollards were still troublesome. The earl of Shaftsbury having headed a revolt that had some relation with Lollardry, was captured and beheaded, and the clergy of London in procession, singing psalms and thanksgivings, met the gory head. A truly militant then arose among them, Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, and placards were posted on the church doors of London, saying the Lollards would maintain their opinions by force of arms. Sir John was a brave soldier, was liked by the king, and was influential in London and adjoining regions. Being accused of various church delinquencies he was brought before the archbishop, when he declared that he would seek absolution from none but God, pointedly disclaimed transubstantiation, penance, confession and worship of the cross, said the pope was Anti-Christ, that the real successor of St. Peter was

the man that was most holy, and loudly declaimed against the prelates and his judges. Thrown into the Tower he escaped, called his friends and started a rebellion which was nipped in the bud by the king's activity in dispersing the rabble at Giles' Field. A fugitive to Wales, Oldcastle headed another band of armed men, was defeated, and finally captured and suffered for treason. Again, in 1414, the Commons moved to sequester the temporalities of the church, and a counter accusation was made against the Lollards that they were holding meetings to destroy the church, the king, and the laws of England.

To the famous Council of Constance the English church sent twenty-one delegates. The spirit of reformation was in the very air, but the Council, thinking it would come only through regular church channels, were ready to declare that what was not exactly in conformity to church ways to be heresy and its advocates to deserve death. Hence, John Huss and Jerome of Prague, though coming to the Council under the safe conduct of the German emperor, were burned as heretics. A formal condemnation of Wyclif's teachings was made and the bones of the mighty reformer were ordered dug up and burned. Even then, in England, the spirit of reform was operative, since the University of Oxford under direction of the king sent the Council of Constance a remonstrance against indulgences being hawked about, urging that excessive fees should not be charged by the Roman Curia, nor benefices conferred in commendam, denouncing the habits of nepotism, pluralities, non-residences, intrusion of alien incum-

bents, exemption of monasteries, cleric worldliness and immoralities.

Henry Fifth in many ways showed a devout, progressive mind, pointing the road to Henry Eighth as well as preparing the people for the Reformation. But he missed the opportunity himself of a great reform, for the Lollards furnished what might have been the groundwork of a deep, fruitful reformation had he allied himself with them.

By the statute of heresy and the death of Salisbury and of Oldcastle, the prominence of the Lollards gave way. But as late as 1449, the "Bible Men," as they dubbed the Lollard preachers, were so aggressive as to call forth Bishop Pecock's book against them, "Overmuch Blaming of the Clergy." Indeed, Lollardry was never wholly suppressed and it helps to explain the facility with which the people accepted the separation from Rome under Henry Eighth, and the hearty acceptance of Luther's teachings from Germany. Hatred of the friars and their foundations was gradually fanned into a flame.

From the Conquest onward there was a most unsatisfactory condition of the monasteries. What revival of religious purity and earnestness was brought in by the priors and abbots whom the Conqueror introduced from Normandy, did not long persist. At one time and another many orders of friars had entered England, usually doing noble service for a while and then degenerating. Their houses, grown rich, led to indolence that bred vice, and laziness which led to deterioration. The Carthusians, coming after the Conquest, had vows in accordance with what

was thought necessary and marked by great severity. They wore sackcloth, never ate any flesh, fasted Fridays on bread and water, ate alone in their cells save on special holidays, kept perpetual silence, none but officers leaving the house, and no women being permitted to attend their services.

Not long after the Conquest came the Cistercians, the order being the result of an Englishman's intense purpose to reach a better way of monastic living. Stephen Harding, a monk, went to Rome and returning entered a Benedictine monastery at Molesme, France, but finding things there not in accordance with their rule, he raised a controversy yet was unable to have the monastery as a whole come to his views. However, the abbot and eighteen monks withdrew and going with Harding to Cistercium, in Chalons, were encouraged by the bishop in setting up an abbey. In time Harding became abbot and the new order as a revival and reform of Christianity greatly flourished. In the times of Henry First and Stephen, England was stirred most profoundly in its religious life, a movement of devout passion taking place similar to those under Wyclif and Wesley.

Other orders also stirred the English life, some coming from the continent, others organized on English soil. The famous Franciscans and Dominicans, like the other orders, perpetuated themselves in rich foundations and have continued to the present day. But all of these orders have separated widely from their original enthusiasm and success.

These conditions made the monks and friars offen-

sive to a large share of the English people. By the time of Henry Fifth, their offense began smelling to Heaven. Even their hospitals and almshouses were gradually abandoned by these religious men. If manuscripts were produced they were for display, not for use. Owing to their immunities and riches the abbots became ostentatious, having large retinues when they went abroad. To many of the great houses were outlying manors, chantries and cells, which often became places of scandal.

A better reputation belonged to the nunneries, though the luxurious living of prioresses sometimes caused dissatisfaction, while now and then the quarrelsome nuns were thrust into a dark room until they could learn to live in peace. The establishments were not so large as those for men, were obscure and less influential. The nuns were teachers, the convents were schools for girls, boarders were taken into them, and charity was given. On the whole they were places of peace and refinement where the religious life as then comprehended and practiced found place for development.

The treatment of the Jews by the English in those centuries forms a curious chapter in the religious life. The well-known favor shown them by the Conqueror and by Wiliam Rufus brought them from the continent in great numbers to push money affairs with their accustomed zeal and success. They were permitted to build synagogues for their own worship, but they were always treated with aversion for their religious views and with suspicion and hatred for the modes of their financial dealings. By the Christians

it was considered wrong in those times to take interest on money, they confounding that with the term usury in the Bible, but the Jews had no such scruples. They readily took interest, often owing to the exigencies of the situation or the passing need of the borrower, taking high rates not only as interest but in those unsettled times as security of the loan. So great was the dislike of them that a riot broke out against them in York while King Richard was absent on a military expedition, and five hundred of them, taking refuge and defending themselves in a fortification, offered to surrender if their lives were pledged them, but this poor pity being denied, the men like the Jewish zealots at Masada, Palestine, destroyed their wives and children and then killed themselves. Finally in the reign of Edward First, 1290, they were totally banished from England. To the number of fifteen thousand they were sent to the continent, the king putting his hand on one-fifteenth of their property. A few turned Christians to escape banishment, but in spite of the efforts of the friars and king their number was small. As the poor refugees were being conveyed away they were plundered and killed by the shipmasters; and thus robbed, banished, murdered, their treatment helped to close one of the saddest episodes of brutality, ignorance, and mistaken zeal in those backward centuries.

Hardly less brutal treatment was accorded the majority of the English nation, the slaves and serfs. In the Anglo-Saxon period many who had once been freemen became by the disasters of war, poverty, sickness or other misfortunes, thralls or slaves, churls

or serfs. The Norman Conquest gave slight change for the better to those classes, while the church all along had a good-will influence among those lowly Englishmen. The Magna Carta makes one little mention of those lowly classes, that a villein should not be amerced so as to lose his wainage, his cart and plows. Their gradual enfranchisement came in the universal progress of the nation toward better things more than by law or legislative enactment.

## CHAPTER XIV

The decay of Feudalism going on through this period was allowing benefits to the masses of Englishmen, permitting them to learn more of the religious life and to cultivate it better, for in its flower, feudalism left few men with any considerable rights. Feudalism did not prevail in England till the Norman Conquest. The theory and practice were that every one holding land did so from one superior to him. Thus the whole land belonged to the king, the lands of the barons and lords were held by them through permission of the sovereign, each subordinate landholder by permission of earl, baron, or other overlord. The superior could control the marriage of the daughters of the lower order, could exact great sums at their weddings so that, in fact, the women were sold and often in such a way to the highest bidder that it was shameful. In a similar way money was exacted when the son was knighted. The completed military service was also demanded and rendered.

The spirit of feudalism was not patriarchal or even patronizing, it was mostly brutal. The reverence claimed for woman, though confined to those of high degree, probably aided in the gradual elevation of all women. The worship of the Virgin was also a potent force in woman's favor. One good thing of feudalism, as distinct from chivalry, was that it laid the care of the aged, poor and infirm upon those above them. On Monday, Thursday and at other times,



the sovereigns set the example of ministering service by washing the feet of the aged indigent, and also in other ways. This show of a lowly, Christlike work was followed by certain high-born men and women in deeds of beneficence and kindly human sympathy.

Free thought and wider education were also helping on the death of feudalism. Then, too, the teaching of equality by the preachers, the leveling tenets of the church, and the democracy of the Scriptures, though poorly comprehended, were yet doing their noble work. Also the poems of Chaucer, of Gower and Langland, as well as the homely adages and ballads of the people, were pregnant with the seeds of death to a system no longer endurable.

By the closing half of the fifteenth century, feudalism may be said to have totally disappeared from England. Edward Fourth had overridden the feudal baronage and the feudal power of the church hierarchy. Parliament by its growing powers, especially in the commons, had aided the change. Men were no longer speechless under ecclesiastical fears. But with these changes, and nothing wholly able to take the place in society of those aborted forces, the scene presented is most appalling. Debauchery marked all classes from king to serf, rapine made all property unsafe, cruelty dragged a trail of blood across both Roses, deceit and duplicity were the common ways of dealing. The remorseless way of kings, princes and nobles in supplanting one another, in confiscations, in bloody murders, were those of gigantic robbers. Warwick was a monster of lust

and cruelty and for a time Edward Fourth was his creature in these excesses.

Another means for helping forward the people in the less spectacular way of church life was the guilds. They existed in the remote Anglo-Saxon life, but by the fourteenth century they had grown to such numbers as to be found in every town of importance. The merchants seem to have been earliest and most active in forming guilds, and were followed by artisans, laborers, and others who saw the benefits in such organizations. It was partly an assertion of rights fostered by the religious insight deepening in those years, and by the independent feeling becoming more and more active. If the guilds were mostly among the laymen still they were in pleasing participation with religious festivals and processions. They greatly encouraged religious pageants, such, for instance, as represented scenes of the Bible, and later the mystery plays were mostly under their auspices. These plays, based on religious subjects and designed to teach the people the elements of Christianity, formed a large part of such teachings attainable by the masses. Towns, as Chester, York, Beverly and Coventry, became noted places for their production. The priests usually wrote the plays and often were the actors under the patronage and with the aid of the guilds. In one procession at a mystery play as many as ninety-six crafts joined. Such pageants would sometimes last three days, being so conducted through the streets that quite a distinct outline of Old Testament scenes and New Testament teachings would be delineated.

Besides this purpose the guilds had a pleasing charitable object, since they usually made provision for those suffering from various human infirmities which, owing to bad sanitation and ignorance of medical practice, were more prevalent than now. The guild of Corpus Christi, York, provided eight beds for poor strangers and hired a woman to attend them. In some guilds payment was made in time of health, then if sickness or want came, certain sums were given to those in need. In other guilds provision was made for repairing roads, town walls or bridges. Church repairs claimed the attention of some guilds while free schools and schoolmasters were furnished by others.

That the object was high and the practice ennobling can be seen by the expulsion of those failing in morality, industry, or in religious duty. Among the obligations taken were to pray that the living might be worthy to win God's fatherhood and that the dead might have their torments lightened. Prayer and services in the churches formed an important part of their duties. On some fast day they would pass in great procession with banners and hymns to the church, dressed in their peculiar uniform, attracting vast attention along the quaint street. For more than three centuries the miracle plays and guilds were continued. In 1388 Parliament ordered returns to be made of all the guilds in the kingdom, of their condition, charter, property and other matters.

The schools in England, as found by the Normans connected with the churches and monasteries, were

carried on with hardly more change than to improve them under the devoted and more learned clerics introduced from the continent by the Conqueror and his immediate successors. The three-fold course of study, called the trivium, consisted of Latin, Logic and Rhetoric. Later the course was broadened to the quadvirium, a four-fold course, these being the science of arithmetic, or numbers, geometry, including geography; music, including harmony with notation, astronomy, the Ptolemaic system being followed, with astrology, though this latter was finally given up. The diocesan schools occupied the field alone for some time, although the broader foundations of Oxford and Cambridge at length won precedence. Still others were founded, as that in Rotherham by Rotherham in his native town. In this college, in addition to the course leading to the priesthood, was one for teaching those not inclined to the clerical course in mechanical arts, writing and arithmetic and kindred secular studies. It continued to the time of Edward Sixth. The name of Wykeman, bishop of Winchester, is fragrant among students, for with his great wealth he founded a school as early as 1366, and the St. Mary's for poor boys in 1373, and fourteen years later the New College at Oxford. In this were provisions for two hundred pupils from the lowest grades of study to the highest. Besides these he founded other schools as feeders for the New College and on this account is claimed as the founder of the public school system of England.

The origin of Oxford University is obscure but several schools at that place doubtless of church or

monastic founding, were early established. The chantry school of St. Frideswide has sometimes borne the honor of beginning the university, but probably it must share that honor with others. By the early part of the thirteen century Oxford had gained a first place in England. No delightful picture is preserved since students were ill housed in the basest lodgings, along the filthy lanes of a medieval town, subject to poor foods, to sickness and other causes of squalor. They were given to drinking, quarreling, gambling. Frequent riots took place, a favorite deed being to wreck the houses of the Jews. Rivalry between the north and Scots and south or Kentish men, led to squabbles sometimes ending fatally, the head of the University and the Mayor of the town often being put to their wits' end to keep order.

But out of such untoward conditions and such a hodge-podge of study and violence, of vice and crime, came many noble scholars and enlargement of vision that helped to kill feudalism, to elevate the church, and to aid the magnificent race forward to the better things. Before the friars had gained their foothold at Oxford, theology was threatened with a subordinate place but those devout vassals of the pope made it their object to place theology in its proper condition. This victory caused an increase of students until the numbers rivaled even Paris, and from it teachers were sought for the continental universities. Such was the influence of the friars, that the colleges became so monkish in form that vows and celibate lives were required; like con-

vents they were self-governing, they could hold land in mortmain, had prayers for founders and anniversary days for them, and fellows were required to take holy orders.

The origin of Cambridge University is somewhat better in hand for it is known that Jaffrid, the abbot of Croyland, sent four of his men to the town of Cambridge to open a school for obtaining money to aid the building of that monastery. They began their teaching in a barn and being good teachers soon attracted a large number of pupils, so many, indeed, that to direct them they had to be divided into groups. Much money was secured by the devoted monks to rebuild Croyland Abbey, but a vaster good was unknowingly done by them in founding for the Anglo-Saxon race a great university.

In his native town of Higham Ferrars, Archbishop Chicheley founded a college with a faculty of twenty, a part of whose duty it was to pray for the souls of the dead. He also set up a hospital at the same place. As the fourteenth century was passing, prelates and others so clearly saw the need of schools that numbers of them were founded. So great was the scholastic activity that it is said at the beginning of the fifteenth century England had seventy-eight colleges, and one hundred ninety-two hospitals in many of which were also church schools. The following century added sixty schools and charity foundations, but only eight religious houses. Monarchism was smitten with decay in the presence of mental and spiritual growth.

As the fifteenth century opened and sped along

college after college was added to the two great universities. Margaret, Countess of Richmond, founded St. John's, Cambridge, Henry Sixth, in 1441, founded the famous Eton, and at Cambridge, King's College, as well as making large gifts to two Oxford colleges. Eton has been a fitting school from that time to this for the universities, at first for those born of aristocratic blood, later, of all bloods. Elizabeth, queen of Edward Fourth, founded Queens' College that was further fostered by Margaret, queen of Henry Sixth. The foundation by the two queens throws the possessive after the plural queens to distinguish it from Queen's College, Oxford.

Views can be obtained of the studies pursued, for it is known of the seventy students in one college that ten were to study civil law, ten canon law, two medicine, two astronomy, and the remainder art or theology. Lincoln College was founded especially to oppose Wyclif's teachings, the object being to combat intellectual dissent by intellectual improvement. Wyclif's work as well as the War of the Roses had injured the schools of every grade.

Out of the decay of the monastic life grew a scholastic product of great worth. Monastery properties were offered for sale so cheaply by the chapters that Bishop Wykeman and others made purchases at such low price that great endowments were readily made for the schools. During the French wars, 1402-14, the French priories in England were confiscated to the number of one hundred twenty-two and this property in some instances was used to found schools. Schools of low grade were

established in great numbers to which the small children could go. By 1485, twenty-three grammar schools were opened in different parts of the kingdom in addition to the monastic and cathedral schools. For centuries the children of thralls and peasants had been denied schooling, the upper classes fearing the results of allowing them to obtain education. The Lollards, however, true to manhood's needs, opened schools for such low classes, this being one of the complaints of enactments against those sectaries.

As London grew it petitioned for the privilege of setting up schools and other towns followed the lead of the metropolis. Schools without charter or other right of existence save the need of them, were set going and dubbed "Adulterine" schools, but such defiance of church right was opposed and they were mostly suppressed, for the clergy considered it one part of their duty to teach the children about them some knowledge of letters. It is certain that into the conventual schools a few were admitted who were not specially looking toward the priesthood. Some of the grammar schools carrying on primary work till one was fitted for the universities became of note, as Beverly, Ripon, and Southwell. At Oxford and Cambridge such schools existed under direction of university authority. The guilds also, under the growing sense of personal worth fostered by the religious life, founded schools, one duty of the guild chaplain being to act as schoolmaster. From these schools, not clerics but lay people, were to draw benefit. So universal were the schools that possi-



bly the only class wholly illiterate were the slaves.

The founders of those old colleges knew the worth of libraries and sought to furnish their foundations with choice manuscript books. Baliol College had two hundred left it by Chancellor Gray in 1442. Three-fourths of a century before that Oriel College possessed about one hundred volumes. To the New College Wykeman gave two hundred forty. If money was worth about twenty times as much then as now, the ten pounds that the Bible cost at the end of the fourteenth century would represent two hundred pounds or a thousand dollars. So it can be seen that the comparatively few volumes in those libraries were still of great cost.

The Norman clergy and laity as they came to England found in architecture hardly anything that could be termed art, the churches and religious houses being mostly of poor pattern and miserable construction. With power and wealth at hand they sought to give expression to their religious life and artistic sense by erecting ornate edifices. The few fine buildings they found, as St. Paul's and St. Peter's in London, were below their idea of fitness so that they entered upon refitting or rebuilding even those finest ones. In ecclesiastical buildings during this period, instead of civil or military ones, the deepening life of England found means of speaking. The style changed from the Romanesque to the Norman, for a people so highly developed as the Normans were certain to have an art of their own. Priories, abbeys, hospitals and other buildings were erected and usually named after some saint, ancient

or local, as a mark of reverence and also to gain the intercessory power of that saint for the founder, the chapter, or the locality. Those buildings as well as the cathedrals, were often of great size, as if devotion could be increased by such overwhelming vastness as to dwarf man in comparison.

The Norman type of architecture with modified rounded arch gave way three hundred years after the Conquest to the Gothic or Early English with clustered columns and painted windows. It was a renaissance of Christian art. A person now wandering in amazement about one of those vast piles with extended, uplifted nave, the transepts with the nave making the form of a cross, seeing the choir, the chapel, statuary, stained windows, gilt and marble, and accumulated riches of centuries, is compelled to acknowledge that men who could plan and erect such stately, beautiful, overwhelming temples of worship, must have had greatness of heart as well as elevated genius for architecture. The few attempts at other art besides architecture were in the religious spirit, such as the painting on the walls at the Confessor's shrine at Westminster and in some other churches. But all the efforts were crude. A few attempts to cut sculpture, figures of the saints and of the Christ were also very crude, as were the paintings of similar subjects designed to teach the people Scriptural truths by those means. The most successful art among the people, next to architecture, was the illumination of their priceless manuscripts. These being produced almost exclusively by the cloistered monks were the work of leisure and

love since they were mostly copies of religious books.

With a people having the strong spirit of the Anglo-Saxon race, emerging from barbarism and deep ignorance even into the Christian faith, it could not be but that many ill customs and bad manners would cling to them. A continuous effort was made to bring Christian teachings to the comprehension of the people so as to lead to better conduct, but it required a long course of religious instruction and of religious progress to overcome so many pernicious ways. Fairs, like those in connection with miracle plays, and days of sales were made partly religious occasions by the church services held at those times. Saints' days were prolific of fairs, combining as then was thought the right way, the secular and the religious. On Sunday, the villein, as service was going on in the church, could hang his slaughtered lamb or pig for sale on the church door and for the same purpose could bring his cattle into the church yard.

The coarse habits of the nobility seem to have conferred lease of similar manners upon the common people. Bear-baiting and bull-baiting were sports of the lower classes. When the retinue of Henry First was going with him from place to place, it practiced most brutal barbarities upon the people along the route, harassing and plundering them, eating and drinking in their houses, compelling the people to bring food and drink, then without apparent human feeling would visit unspeakable outrages upon both men and women.

These and similar brutalities were but eddies in the great forward current. As an expression of

the softening spirit was the foundation of hospitals and other benevolent houses. Owing to lack of sanitation leprosy became a common disease and for it hospitals were founded, and from this, as a first thought, others were established for various diseases. Some of those institutions founded as far back as the fourteenth century have continued with cumulative worth until the present. These hospitals whether built by the prelates, by orders, or by rich laymen, were always established under church direction.

## CHAPTER XV

Contemporary private writings of the fifteenth century show that the religious spirit, in many of the middle classes at least, was active and thoughtful.

The Paston Letters, covering a large portion of the fifteenth century, a collection of large private correspondence, have invaluable information of many kinds, are most interesting, give insight of family, public and religious life, and much history not otherwise attainable.

One son of the family begs his mother to go pray at the "Rood of Northerdor," meaning the north door of St. Paul's, and "Seynt Savyour at Barmonse," and his sister Margery also, that she might obtain a good husband. Their piety found expression in another way for Clement Paston made legacies to the High Altar, to the vicar of Paston for tithes, for lights for St. Margaret, for lights for the Rodeloft church, for repairing church, to the Trunch church, for Mouslee church, and to the Convent of Brownholm. Another member of the family made donations among the poor and the prisoners of London. Glimpses are also obtained of the frequent pilgrimages then in vogue on which members of this family went, while nobles and even the king and queen are shown going to the tomb of Becket at Canterbury with the great crowds flocking to it. The will of Margery, the strongest char-

acter in this remarkable family, is illuminating in the field of devotion. In it she commends her soul to Almighty God, to Our Lady His blessed Mother, to St. Michael, to St. John Baptist, and to All Saints. She made gifts to several churches and to different orders of the friars, to chapels, hospitals and other religious houses that they might serve mass and keep continuous prayers for her soul.

In the literary productions given to the world during this period the religious life is most vividly pictured. The treatises of Landfranc and others of a controversial kind, the lives of prominent churchmen by Eadner and his fellows, the history of cathedrals and monasteries by Turgot, Selcord and men of their spirit, the chronicles of abbeys and of royal deeds and of current history by such monks as Odericus, Malmesbury, Geoffrey and others, all are very storehouses of contemporary information from which all writers have drawn. Little literary work was done except by churchmen, though one, a merchant, wrote of a pilgrimage to Palestine. Laymen deemed letters worthless or a weakness. The Table Talk of Henry Second, by Walter Map, was made up of stories of monks, miracles, satires on contemporary hypocrites, and of other religious phases of the day. This same man had much to do in nationalizing the legends of King Arthur, the story of the Holy Grail and other parts of that series. "Goliath," a biting satire on the self-seeking prelates and corrupted monks, was a protest against things not Christlike in churches and society,

a spirit which beginning then has never ceased to the present. One sign of progress was that Layamon, in 1200-5, wrote in the vernacular, when before Latin or French had been used alone in literary work. *Ormulum* and *Ancren Rewle* were written for the purpose of teaching the people and nuns the way of right living. Heroes of legends were all pious souls, Hereward, so devout as to have a priest, Friar Tuck, always with him so as to render mass three times a day, while Havelock "loved God with all his might."

Roger Bacon seems to have been one of the few great men given of Heaven to enliven and enlighten human minds. As thoroughly educated as the times could yield, of independent spirit, he became a Franciscan friar, attracted to them no doubt by their renown in letters. The pope's request for him to write out for papal delectation all he knew, resulted in his writing, "*Opus Majus*," an encyclopedic book for that age. His independent research and untrammelled mind were a presage of later freedom of thought. Songs, fables, satires, sayings, existed among the people directing and stimulating to the piety of the lower classes. Some were metrical paraphrases of the Bible, others of religious duties, prominent clerics not being above preparing such modes of instruction for the people. "*Gesta Romanorum*" was the name given to a great collection mostly of religious cast, primarily prepared for preachers to enliven their sermons and homilies, as the friars had done to make their addresses more interesting to their auditors. This collection gathered

from all sources was drawn on by such literary men as Chaucer, Gower and Shakespeare.

By the middle and last of the fourteenth century a great epoch of intellectual fruitfulness came to England. In it are the names of Chaucer, Gower, Langland, Wyclif, and others hardly less known. John Gower, dubbed by Chaucer as "The Moral Gower," wrote three books, two of which are preserved. These, "*Vox Clamantis*" and "*Confessio Amantis*," both in Latin verse, cry out for better moral and religious conditions. He hides under the semblance of the tender passion, stories from the Bible and from classic literature, designing by these stories to be a preacher of righteousness to the people of his time against the seven deadly sins. In a similar vein was Richard Ralle's "*Prick of Conscience*," describing the popular belief of the day that bad and good angels waited at the bedside of the dying to secure the fleeting soul.

Possibly the book that had the profoundest influence for righteousness at that time, though not the best literature, was the "*Vision of Piers the Plowman*." The author, John Langland was, like Ralle, a clerk but of so loose a profession as to have a wife and daughter. Langland's poem in the vernacular was for the common people. A dreamer, like Bunyan, he sees in his vision that the scandalous evils of the day, darkening life in church and state, can be remedied by three forces, Do Well, Do Better, Do Best.

While Langland was the poet of the lowly, Chaucer, his contemporary, was the poet of the noble.



As Langland lived among the toilers of the street and field, Chaucer reveled in court with knights, earls and princes, singing for them. No literary star shone so bright until the rise of Shakespeare. Through his eyes we can see the Englishmen of the fourteenth century. Their habits, morals, religion, manners good and bad, are a very medley of life. The story of Canterbury Tales, charming all who read it, pictures a company of twenty-nine persons, well representing all phases of English life at that time, going on a pilgrimage to Becket's shrine, and to relieve the tedium of travel each one is to tell some stories, though the plan was only in part carried out. If the characters are truly represented and the spirit shown also true, and doubtless the poet takes his readers along the path of actual conditions, the religious life in the ranks higher than shown in "Piers Plowman" needed a conscious reform.

From the time of Wyclif, Langland and Chaucer onward, the incisive English became a mighty living power in reform and progress. When the common speech of the masses hungering for the truth became the speech of the reformer's pamphlets, of the poems of genius, of the translated Bible and the volumes of religious controversy and doctrine, then the way was laid for better religious life and whatever great movements would come in attendance. The legends of King Arthur and of the Holy Grail were, it is possible, doing some good like the noble deeds of chivalry for purity and faith. "The Plowman's Crede" a product of the closing years of the fourteenth century is sometimes joined with "Piers Plow-

man," but it is probably from an unknown author. The plowman in this poem, not having learned the creed though knowing the Ave Marie and Pater-noster, goes to one friar after another only to be turned away with contempt, but at last finds in an unkempt toiler at the plow one who teaches a short creed, charity toward a sufferer. The War of the Roses made a dearth of mental activity, the church life as well as the national life sinking to a low ebb. But in the horizon two mighty forces were assisting to electrify the race, the printing press and the renaissance period. And these were vital helps toward the Reformation.

The constitutional growth had much to do with the religious progress since the grand object of Anglo-Saxon constitution is to give to man, as man, his natural rights. This spirit is also a directing force in Christianity. The New Testament is a great Bill of Rights, a Charter of personal liberties. The Conqueror, though he had pledged to rule the people by the laws previously governing them, later became very despotic, his word being enforced as supreme law. Still protecting the church from the encroachments of the pope he aided that organization as best he could. His separation of the clerical courts from the secular ones led to a vast amount of conflict, for it gave the clergy opportunities of condoning vice and crime among themselves. In the reign of William Rufus no constitutional progress was possible, since he is described as "unrestrained by religious principle or policy, a foul incarnation of selfishness, an enemy of God and

man giving to England and Christendom an incarnation of absolutism." He enslaved and plundered the church.

To the next king, Henry First, is ascribed the honor of granting the earliest charter of rights given to the English people. It sought to mitigate the absolutism of William Rufus and to do justice to all classes. He promised not to retain the vacant benefices or to farm them out. The king's court was to be called three times a year to render justice to all. He revived and registered old laws and the office of chancellor was made for the king's chaplains. To the church he granted the right of chapters to elect their heads, the elections to be held in the king's court. He granted by license only appellate and legislative power to the pope, this action being made the ground of the appeal of centuries by the English in their resistance to papal impositions.

Stephen's scramble for the throne was such that his accession was counted a usurpation and enabled the prelates and nobles to secure a renewal of Henry's charter with additions. Simony was forbidden, laws of the Confessor relating to property and dignities were revived, cases of accusation against clerics were left with their bishops, and he let alone testamentary disposition of the clergy and the administration of vacant churches. Prelates had castles to protect themselves like the barons, for the feudal system was in full play. Stephen's arbitrary ways provoked civil war. In the struggle between Stephen and Matilda, the prelacy came to the front, and in deposing Stephen, and again

Matilda, made a precedent according to which Edward Second and Richard Second and James First were also deposed. The synods meeting from time to time were insistent that good government of the land should be exercised and that the Charter should be observed. The jury system existent before in embryo came into definite use and form during this time. The mental and political ferment led men to write on government matters, Glanville producing a treatise on law and Fitz-Neal one on finance, the first of importance produced in England.

When John came to the throne by election, in 1199, the archbishop claimed it was an act of the nation after the presence of the Holy Spirit had been invoked. Probably the provisions of the Magna Carta relating to the church helped it more politically than in the direct work of the religious life, but the two are so blended as to make separation impossible. The first clause granted the freedom of the church in the election to bishoprics, while the archbishop, bishops and abbots were to be called with lay nobles to Parliament by royal writs. In the affair of the Charter most of the clergy acted with the barons, Langton, though in attendance upon the king, largely inspiring the leading men in the movement. The conduct of the clergy in directing church affairs, their courts, councils, writs, were the models after which the civil procedure was often patterned. Their representation in councils must have shown the way for civil representation later in Parliament, and the election to office in the chapters doubtless directed civil elections.

The constitutional relations to the religious life were in this period marked by three great statutes, Mortmain, Provisors, and Premunire. The first of these, Mortmain, literally "dead hand," had its origin in Magna Carta. A clause in that document forbade any one to give his property to a religious house, and then, taking it back, hold it under the protective provisions of that house. It can be seen that these religious houses being perpetual corporations could hold property forever unproductive for national defense and other burdens, since most of the religious houses had special exemption from such burdens by papal favors and by other means. This statute of Edward First was really a broader re-statement of an older one. By it land transferred without royal license was forfeited. It designed to stop the vast accumulation of lands by the religious bodies which were absorbing them rapidly. A hundred years later it was interpreted as forbidding the transference of land to guilds and fraternities that also held property in perpetuity. This statute was, however, by the ingenuity of lawyers, often evaded by the clergy.

The statute of Provisors, passed in 1351 under Edward Third, was the culmination of a series of attempts to get rid of papal interference in the election of bishops. The Parliament of Carlisle, in 1307, had stated in a petition of earls, barons and commons, that the church founded by Englishmen in the past that they might learn the faith, and that provision might be made for prayers, alms and hospitality, had seen these foundations by recent action

of the pope thrown into alien hands. By the statute of Provisors, elections to benefices and dignities were to be free, persons accepting papal promotions were to be arrested, and some other similar provisions were included. The next year purchasers of papal provisions were declared outlaws, and later still penalty was increased to forfeiture and banishment. While these laws were now and then evaded by various means, in all the struggle against papal interference and assumptions they aided the patriot. Again the Parliament in 1401 demanded their execution.

Two years after Provisors in 1353, the third of those great statutes, Premunire, was enacted. It took its name from the first word of the writ issued in the Latin language. Owing to the presumptions of the papacy, the relations with Rome had become very strained and a deep irritation was consequent in England. By this statute any one suing in foreign courts for things cognizable in the king's court forfeited his property, became liable to imprisonment and was outlawed. If one would not obey the summons against use of foreign courts he was to answer for contempt. The real aim was to stop the appeal to or use of papal courts, a way that had become prevalent and most distressing. A few years later, an additional statute definitely named the papal courts and later still imposed forfeiture of goods for obtaining bulls or other orders from Rome.

There was danger that the increase of bishops' sees which put, for every new one, another cleric

into Parliament would give the cleric element preponderance in that body and by king and laity such increase was jealously watched. But the monasteries were so declining that the abbots were falling lower in influence both in Parliament and out of it. The convocations changed little, meeting usually at the same time as the Parliament, and sometimes at the request of royalty voting money for the king's needs. The legislative work of the church was legislative, or diocesan, or provincial, according to the rank of the one under whose jurisdiction the work was done. Their meeting and acts were only by royal permission. As legislation was mixed, clerics for clerics, clerics for laity, laity for clerics, jumbles must sometimes have occurred and it was difficult to keep the dividing line distinct in its administration. By the end of this period there were about ten thousand parishes, but several times as many clerics of one order and another. In Parliament sat two archbishops and eighteen bishops. As time passed more of the lower classes by education and merit were able to reach high places in the church. Enactments were sought against such possibility, but kingly power increasing, the monarchs were more lenient towards the lowly and sought their support. In the time of Henry Seventh, the final form of parliamentary act was:

"The king to the honor of God and the Holy Church, and for the common profit of the realm by advice and authority of the lords' spiritual and temporal."

## CHAPTER XVI

The English Reformation was no sudden conversion. Several great events in human progress prepared the way for its coming. Lollardry had never ceased from Wyclif's time, the Renaissance had aided in awakening the human spirit, the invention of printing had multiplied information and power, the discovery of America and of a water way to India had increased the knowledge of other lands, and all united to broaden the human vision. Owing to these impulses and also to others western Europe could no longer submit to the repression and ignorance of medievalism. This part of the world was now bound to leave behind the assumptions of the Roman hierarchy. The human spirit was struggling to become free as never before. That spirit began to feel its rights, its boundless capacity, and soon would brook no fetters. Had these forces been at the command of the English people in Wyclif's time it is possible that the reform of the sixteenth century would have come a hundred and fifty years sooner. As the agitation started in Germany by Luther was spreading rapidly over Europe, it stirred the slumbering embers of Lollardry in England.

Both the people and the clergy were alert, the one to obtain the new way and learn its benefits, the other to shield their order from its threatenings, and to intensify the repression of heresy. In St. Paul's, London, was a prison specially devoted to



these heretics, known as the Lollard's Tower. In 1519, several were burned at the stake, and one, Richard Hunne, was found murdered in the bishops' prison or Lollard's Tower, and his body after burial, like that of Wyclif, was dug up and burned.

The people at large to a considerable degree gave welcome to the teachings of Luther, for many books produced by the continental reformers were brought to England by merchants and travelers passing the narrow sea. These writings and their reception by the people greatly exasperating the ecclesiastics, men and women were burned at the stake for teaching their children in the English tongue the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and Apostles' Creed. Wolsey ordered the bishops to gather all the books of Luther and send them to him.

The Renaissance came to England just as the ferment of religious matters was arising and was a powerful agent in opening the way for the Reformation. Dean Colet of St. Paul's, having been in Italy for the study of the literature scattered westward from Constantinople when in 1453 the Turks captured that city, brought to England the new spirit, though greatly modified from the pagan trend being given it in Italy. He wanted all benefits arising from the new learning possible to come to Christianity, and began planning and teaching for that noble end. With men of a similar spirit, Linacre, Grocyn, More, the German Erasmus and others, encouraged by Warham and by the scholarly instincts of the young king, Henry Eighth, the benefits which the movement brought to England were shared with

Colet as he labored. It alarmed the sleepy ecclesiastics and when complaint was carried to the king and he made a personal investigation into the results of Colet's course, the pleased potentate instead of silencing the iconoclastic Dean heartily cried, "This man is the doctor for me." Erasmus and others worked hard to bring the New Testament in Greek to the hand of all. When this was out with notes and paraphrases Warham sent copies to all the prelates to read, the bishop of Winchester declaring it to be worth ten commentaries. The spirit of Erasmus in preparing this annotated New Testament can be seen when he said,

"I long for the day when the husbandman shall sing portions of them to himself as he follows the plough, when the weaver shall hum them to the time of his shuttle, when the traveler shall while away with their stories the weariness of his journey."

The devotion of these great teachers to their high object, their bravery in face of cleric opposition that knew no mercy to heresy, their noble purpose to reach and enlighten the people in religious ways, entitle them to the profoundest gratitude and the highest praise. The work of Erasmus and that of Colet was reformatory as well as literary. Colet could sneer at the costly offerings he found piled on Becket's tomb, and turn away in disgust when the attendant monk offered the saint's shoe and rag to kiss. Reform was getting into the very air.

These teachers took unyielding position against war, the spirit of which was rampant in that age,

and in which their young patron, King Henry, greatly to their sorrow, was preparing to engage. Colet, to carry forward the reforms he sought, founded grammar schools, using his own fortune to establish that of St. Paul's, London, and so eagerly did other men of wealth follow the high purpose of the Dean that schools were founded in various parts of the realm, the beginning of systematic education for the middle classes from whom have come since that time most of England's great men. Over the master's chair in Colet's school was an image of the child Jesus and the words, "Hear ye Him." Both of the Universities, Cambridge and Oxford, were deeply moved by the new spirit entering the realm.

In this time of mental ferment one literary work of genius appeared, the "Utopia" of Sir Thomas More. In this ideal state all religions were tolerated. He claimed what later comparative study of religions has found, that all great religions have some truth in their constituents, though in "Utopia" the Christian religion was clearly at the head. In this ideal state legislation was guided by a purpose to benefit all, whether of high or low degree, the purpose one can now see of Christianity in its beneficent evangel to man. A book written with these teachings, though the course of the author in later official life was sadly at variance with his preachments, could not fail in spurring forward the human mind to find relief in protest and liberty.

Two allied inventions, paper making and the printing press, seem providentially opportune at this time in helping humanity in its search for truth and free-

dom. General knowledge was increased with a rapidity that was marvelous. All fields were entered. But no field was entered more eagerly than that of religion. At first no Bible was printed in the English, but the editions of the Greek Testaments of Erasmus and Colet were preparing the way for Tyndale. Whatever books of controversy or theological exposition were put forth on the continent, were being rapidly translated into English, and carried to England to awaken the dormant intellect. The rudely printed sheet, the short sententious pamphlet which usually escaped the lynx eyes of the ghostly censors were surreptitiously obtained and as secretly read. As the years passed the king issued orders against the importation of these pestilent books, naming Tyndale's "New Testament," "The Supplication of Beggars," Luther's "Revelation of Antichrist," and others. Such books getting into Oxford University made "gospellers" of some of the inmates and even martyrs. In such new-found means of knowledge the people rejoiced. To think for themselves, to read the burning thoughts of others ahead of themselves in the search for truth, were new sensations and they rejoiced like discoverers of an unknown continent. The man with a book became a power.

Henry Eighth at the first was a devoted servant of the papal church. In his coronation oath he swore to keep and maintain the rights and liberties of the Holy Church of old times granted by the righteous kings of Christian England. Until the death of his older brothers, Henry was being pre-

pared to receive the archbishopric. His book against Luther has been claimed to be the ablest attempt made to defend papal orthodoxy. This book dedicated to the pope won for Henry the title "Defender of the Faith," a title proudly worn by all English potentates since, though not always applicable to the sovereigns since his time. Had there not been the very mixed affair of his marriage to his brother's widow and later his passion for the pretty Anne Boleyn, there is no guessing what course England would have taken.

Henry found in Wolsey a most able minister. Though aiming at the papal dignity he still served his prince with devotion and matchless ability. His ecclesiastical presumptions and defense of clerical prerogative propagated an insolent spirit among the lower clergy. As papal legate Wolsey instituted a legatine court, which taking cognizance of matters of conscience and of reforming manners carried on under its cover the grossest extortions and pious plunder. Under his legatine authority he had control of all the clergy, of the abbeys and cells, and in all appeals from the lower ecclesiastical courts superseded papal control in England. Wolsey obtained permission of the pope to suppress forty of the degenerated monasteries using their proceeds in the erection of his two colleges, one at Oxford, the other at Ipswich, his native town. Before these plans were consummated he was displaced, but the foundation at Oxford was carried out by the king under the name of Christ Church College.

The progress of thought and the advance toward

religious freedom at length brought forward the necessity for a Bible in the vernacular. Wyclif's had not been printed. A better, more modern version was needed. It must not be a simple transfer into English of the Vulgate, but one produced from the corrected Greek and Hebrew texts brought forward by the scholarship of that time. As early as the year 1524, George Stafford of Durham read at Cambridge public lectures out of the Bible. But the universities were preparing a man, William Tyndale, to put that book into good English, translated from the annotated Greek and Hebrew editions, and to scatter it over the land. He sat at the feet of Colet and of Erasmus, an ardent student of the Bible, and early became an adept in its language. Leaving the university he soon determined to translate the New Testament into English. He found a friend in Humphrey Monmouth, a rich merchant, by whose aid he went to Germany to begin the work of giving a Bible in his own tongue. So sharp was the opposition even in England that Tyndale was a fugitive from one German city to another, his work being interrupted from oversea though he was aided in it by one John Fryth, another English refugee. The printing of the New Testament was begun at Cologne but was driven from there to Worms, where in 1526 an octavo edition of ten thousand copies was issued, and was being secretly carried to England by merchants and others and there sold at two and three shillings each by a band of reformers known as Christian Brethren. These New Testaments were ordered seized and burnt by the Privy

Council, men being put under sharp and dangerous punishment for possessing and reading God's word.

John Fryth was busy carrying the New Testament to inquirers in England, and he was also aiding Tyndale in putting the Old Testament into English. But this devoted worker was captured by the enemies of reform and burnt at the stake in 1533. At Antwerp, Tyndale labored at a revision of his New Testament. As this hurried and imperfect edition was brought into London by two merchants, Joy and Constantine, the bishop, Tonsal, to head off the use of it secretly, with the help of Packington, bought up all the remainder of the edition and made a great bonfire of them at Cheapside. The money from this sale went as Packington intended it should, to Tyndale who greatly needed it to put out a second and better edition. As the influx of the hated New Testament continued, Packington was questioned by the Lord Chancellor and others of the Council who told them that the largest purchaser was the Lord Bishop which caused great merriment among the less bigoted laymen.

After translating sections of the Old Testament, Tyndale in 1535, as he was toiling on a still later edition was kidnaped, probably by emissaries of the English prelates that had hitherto failed to secure him. He was hurried to a part of the country governed by Charles Fifth, kept a year in vile prisons, and then in spite of all attempts of friends in Antwerp and in England to save him, among whom was Charles Cromwell, he was condemned for heresy, first strangled and then burned at the stake. His

last words were, "Lord, open the King of England's eyes!" Within a year so answered was this prayer that Henry was giving his sanction to the issue of a Bible slightly revised only from Tyndale's translation. His herculean labors produced a translation which has formed the basis of style for all versions since.

The English Bible was not to be suppressed. Cranmer was in favor of its use by the people, soon persuading Henry to order the issue of another version that should be free from the fearsome renderings and notes of Tyndale. Soon the Matthews Bible was given to England, the revision and change of Tyndale's being mostly done by John Rogers who did not dare to have the version come out bearing his name, but gave that of Matthews. This edition was objected to by the prelates, so one was projected by Cranmer to be done in sections by the English prelates themselves. For this purpose the archbishop distributed sections of the book to various bishops to be rendered into acceptable English, all of whom seem to have done the work assigned save Stakesly of London, who, returning the assignment untouched, sent as a reason an expression of the extreme wing of the short-sighted and bigoted prelates of that epoch, "I marvel," he said, "what my lord of Canterbury meaneth that thus abuseth the people in giving them liberty to read the Scriptures, which doth nothing else but infect them with heresy. I will never be guilty of bringing the simple people into error."

All this time Tyndale's translation revised by



Rogers, Coverdale and others, was secretly supplied in response to the crying demand. As Cranmer's edition was preparing the king had come to see its worth and submitting Coverdale's revision to the bishops asked them if there was any heresy in it, and being told they saw none, he cried, "Then in God's name let it go among the people." Permission was given for it to be read in public and in private, the first edition of 1537 being soon followed by others. But only a few years passed before the prelatical party gained the ascendancy in the matter when the permission to own the Bible and to read it was rescinded. The copies put into the churches and worn out by the eager use of the people were not replaced and the suppression continued until the end of Henry's reign. While the permission to read it had remained, passions had run high for and against this grant. Old people now first learned to read in order to taste this precious book for themselves, buying copies at the comparatively small cost at which they could be issued. Children were taught letters that they might read the Bible to their letterless parents and neighbors. Other parents opposing this permission offered to their children, beat them and sometimes threatened their lives for learning to use the Bible.

As the merchants had transported the Bible from Holland to England they did also to Scotland. The strenuous rise of the reformation there, the deep insight of the acute Scotch character into the truth, and the radical change soon appearing, were largely due to the Bible and the reforming literature sent

there. While these publications were under the ban several families would gather in secret and in fear, all listening to the gracious words as one read. In 1542 the Scot Parliament passed an act making it lawful for any one to read the Bible in the vulgar tongue, so that in the hands of the common people and on the tables of the upper classes the precious book was everywhere in evidence. After this time the Scot press rapidly pushed the issuing of reformed publications. There came a national awakening. But to prepare the way for this liberty, Patrick Hamilton, of noble blood and broad culture, was burned at the stake for bringing to light the corruption and errors of the hierarchy, while Seaton, the Confessor of James Fifth, for preaching similar doctrines, was driven out of the kingdom. Not lucky enough to escape were Forrest and Collet of the Bennet monks who, for declaring Hamilton to be a martyr, were themselves condemned to the stake.

The separation from Rome was hardly more than an incident in the English Reformation. The political results were large, but the tide was so rising among the people as to cause the submerging of many beliefs and landmarks. Henry's question about the validity of his marriage with his brother's widow, entered on as a state policy, was consummated only after a dispensation of the pope. A suggestion of Cranmer that the English church was fully competent to deal with the affair, was a way out of the complications of the hour quite consonant with the deeper feeling of the nation with respect to

Rome. The condition of the religious life was most distressing. The great saving truths of Christianity were fatally obscured by a host of imperfect beliefs, absurd practices and gross superstitions. Salvation was not by faith in the atonement of Christ but in the mass said or sung by monk or priest. Penance and pilgrimage were depended upon to free from sin and its consequences.

Crime became unspeakable. Punishment of the most drastic character tried in vain to stem the tide of robbery, foulness, murder. Some of the monks and priests were lecherous, and some of the prelates were said to make places for their own sons. The monasteries became a byword of neglect and no new foundations were being made. A weaker king than Henry might have differently modified the inevitable reform but his strong will and fearless action seem to have been needed.

Wolsey as the pope's legate could not fully aid the king in his purpose for a divorce. The action which revived the power of *Premunire* became an instrument for the remorseless king to destroy the minister who had taught him the statecraft now guiding him. By that sweeping law, the whole clergy of England had been put under condemnation through Wolsey's administration as papal legate, exemption being bought from it by the Canterbury province for a hundred thousand pounds, and for the province of York for eighteen thousand pounds. Wolsey, slow to press for the king's divorce, was stripped from his pluralities and offices affording him vast income, as he was also of his ostentatious

pageantry. In disgrace he was sent to administer the province of York, but hated by the nobility at court was arrested on the accusation of high treason, and died broken-hearted before the end of that accusation could be inflicted.

The Commons had taken strong position against pluralities and cleric exaction in case of probate and mortuaries. The people were becoming exasperated at the continued exactions and severe persecutions still kept up by the clerics. The body of one William Tracy was ordered dug up and burned because in his will he had not commended his soul to the intercession of the saints. A lawyer of the Middle Temple, William Bainham, having been arrested for denying purgatory, invocation of the saints, extreme unction and auricular confession, recanted and later recalling his recantation was by order of Sir Thomas More whipped in the house of Utopia's author, subjected to the rack and later sent to the stake.

Both Convocation and Parliament voted in favor of the king's supremacy. Most of the lower clergy remained loyal to Rome in sentiment and in practice of services. Especially in the north and west they organized itineraries to preach up the pope's power over that of potentates, and the inferiority of princes to the clergy. Cranmer found in Hugh Latimer an able helper whose preaching, eloquent and fiery, was sharp against worshipping the Virgin, the saints, as well as against pilgrimages and similar practices.

Appeals formerly made to the pope could now

formally be made to the king in Court of Chancery, and prelates were curtailed in their courts of jurisdiction, thus gathering most church affairs into royal power. Two men prominent in the stirring times were able to take the oath to the succession but could not accept other debated questions, Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher. Cranmer desired allowance to be made them but the king's court was not willing and after being held in the Tower both were beheaded for treason. The Carthusian monks of Charterhouse, London, were willing to accept the succession but not the king's supremacy in church, so three of their priors were burned at Tyburn. Others of them thrown into pestilent prisons were left to rot and die. Passions ran high. People were easily led to accept wrong opinions or to follow some absurd impostor and the priests at the confessional were infusing a spirit of opposition to the reform into the minds of their parishioners.

## CHAPTER XVII

The monasteries were doomed by a policy like that of Henry. Long before this date, as far back as 1489, the pope, having heard of the evils existing in the English monasteries, gave the archbishop of Canterbury directions to correct and reform as was found necessary. The abbot of the great monastery of St. Albans, near London, was addressed by that prelate in a letter yet extant in which a revolting list of accusations is recited against him and his house. Some of these were of "simony, usury, of dilapidation, and of waste of goods," further the relaxation of religious practices, hospitality and alms, with gross and uncommon chastity, the priory and prioress being accused of vices and crimes too blackening to be named. The property was alienated, precious plate and jewels sold and forests cut down. If a few of the monasteries had maintained their primitive purposes these few had their fair name smirched by the filth of the mass. Wolsey had obtained permission of the pope and of the king to dissolve forty of them. The king suppressed the Observants at Greenwich, Canterbury, Richmond and at other places, filling their establishments with Augustine friars, they being mercifully spared the frightful fate of the Carthusians.

In 1536, it was decided that all the monasteries with less income than two hundred pounds a year

should be dissolved, the revenues from them put to public use for building fortifications, endowing new dioceses and for other purposes. A commission with Thomas Cromwell at its head was sent out on a visitation, their scrutiny including even the highest prelates. In this visitation of Cromwell's commission articles to the number of eighty-six were to be put as questions in determining what should be done, and another set to be propounded to the nunneries was prepared. From some fragments of this report preserved, the original document having been lost, possibly destroyed in Mary's reign with other incriminating documents known to have gone that way, most frightful conditions existed. Erasmus, an unprejudiced observer, said that "Whereas before learning was mostly in the monasteries now the monks give themselves up to the belly, luxury and money." Hume says that money left for pious purposes was squandered by the monks in taverns, gambling houses and in worse places still.

It is said that three hundred seventy-six of the smaller houses were dissolved after this visitation. Since many of the inmates would come to penury, Latimer in vain advised that two or three houses be left in each diocese to save from such suffering. Monks less than twenty-four years of age were set at liberty, many of them glad to be free from their vows taken at an age too tender to know their significance, while others above that age were given the choice of going free or finding a retreat in some larger monastery not yet suppressed. Such of these as chose to go into the world were given a suit of

clothes and forty shillings; to the nuns were given a gown and freedom.

The disclosures of this unspeakable corruption joined with a taste of such riches as the suppression of the smaller houses afforded the needy king and his avaricious courtiers, led most surely to the next step in the drama. The larger, richer monasteries must also go. Further, many people had come to believe that some of the specified objects of their foundation had no real existence, for instance, purgatory being relegated to limbo made prayers for the dead meaningless. It was urged that if they were to be dissolved the property should revert to the heirs of the founders, but this use of the property would not be in accord with the purpose of the king and of his rapacious court. They coveted the fertile land and rich treasures garnered through generations, to sustain new titles of nobility. Many of the present aristocracy date their title and estates from this movement, as a few others reach back to the time of the Conqueror.

The conduct of the dissolution and care of the property were committed to a specially ordered body called the Court of Augmentations. Since many of the larger monasteries, as great manors, had furnished soldiers like other important fiefs, the number of soldiers that could be called for was depleted. Many of the heads of these institutions had sat in the upper house of Parliament, these to the number of twenty-eight, it is said, being removed, the ecclesiastical preponderance of that house perished. Whatever good was in those houses was



brushed aside with their suppression. Their valuable manuscripts were destroyed, scattered and burnt, thus causing irreparable loss. The beautiful stained windows were smashed, the old bells of matchless tones were melted down, libraries sold to soap-makers for heating their vats, the mendicants at the gates waiting for alms were driven thence with the beadle's whip. In all it is said there were suppressed six hundred forty-five monasteries, ninety colleges were demolished, two thousand three hundred seventy-four free chapels and chantries, and ten hospitals, all yielding a revenue of one hundred thirty-five thousand, five hundred twenty-two pounds, eighteen shillings, six pence. Besides this cash income there was an immense amount of plate, cattle, timber, and other things sold, but the rates were put so low that the result of these sales could not have been more than one-twentieth of their real value. Many of the prelates, even the archbishop, were compelled by the same imperious course to give up their chapter lands, which were turned over to laymen.

It was a high carnival of legitimized robbery. In 1539 the king, owing to the outcry against the total suppression of the monasteries, reinstated thirty-one, sixteen of them nunneries. When the report of the visitation was read in the House of Commons there arose an indignant, spontaneous cry, "Shame, Shame! Put them down!" The promise of Henry to establish bishoprics, preachers, readers, schools, students, and scholars was not carried out by him, but was in part in the following reign.

Two great evils, at least, arose in the course of suppression. The north and west were strenuous for the old faith. The outcry of the monks and other clerics against losing the monasteries found response with the sturdy beggars and with very many of the common people, thus a spirit of insurrection was aroused. It is probable that the seculars helped the monks and regulars to inflame the fears and resentment of their people. The malcontents set up the monasteries again, putting monks back into them, and insisted that the Princess Mary should have the right of succession, and that Lutheranism should be crushed. The northern clergy, meeting at Pomfort, sent their demands to Henry. They asked that heresy be punished under the laws of Henry Fourth, that is, with burning and without mercy, that holy days be observed as in times past. They refused to acknowledge the king's headship in the church, rejected his claim to tenths, objected to the use for temporal purposes of the property once dedicated to spiritual objects, considered dispensations to be good if granted by the pope, desiring to recognize him as before, and deemed the correction of deadly sins to belong to the clergy only. It was really a Catholic movement in the interests of that party. Henry, at the time, on their dispersion granted a general pardon but later apprehended a large number, executing many of them, among whom were six abbots, one prior, five priests and several monks.

Another trouble that came with the suppression of the monasteries was a great increase of vagabond-

age and crime among the lowly. Many of them dependent upon the monasteries had learned no trade or industry, had been fed with alms doled out at the gates or had been employed by the houses in some menial labor. In the early history of the monastic system these dependents had greatly aided the brothers in reducing wild land morasses and bogs to productive farms. The great embankments of the lower Thames were doubtless the work of the monasteries. These men and women by the ten thousand were now turned loose helplessly to drift. Crime and vice were certain to follow. The authorities in those ages knew of no other way to deal with these unfortunate people than to use bloody severity. Gibbets would have a ghastly row of twenty or fifty at a time. Foreign travelers were shocked by the sight of so much thieving and murder, these not being lessened by the severe punishments inflicted. The steps thus far in the movement had partially resulted in lawlessness while crime, alehouses and stews abounded, dice and cards were the pastime of the masses, gross ignorance and low morals acted as a paralysis on the nation.

The king's supremacy was declared by act of Parliament in 1534, and steps were taken at once to accustom people to it. St. Paul's, London, was the court sanctuary, the central point of political preaching. The king ordered the preacher at this place to declare that the bishop of Rome now had no authority in England, what he had exercised there before had been usurpation. Henry also directed that householders

should teach their children and servants this claim and that the nobility should widely talk the same teachings. However, Parliament and the people were not ready to give the king as unlimited power as the papal authorities had claimed. By the means used Henry purposed to release the people and the royal prerogatives from the thralldom of the centuries.

Of course Rome could not complacently accept this culmination of English affairs. England yielded too much prestige to papal claims, and yielded too much treasure to be lost. Intrigue was to be added to open correspondence, agents to follow legates, Jesuits to bring their incomparable subtilty to other means for holding the island to the old faith. It was allowed to leak out that a bull of excommunication which had cowed former kings of England was prepared by the pope, though withheld for the time being. This was in 1535. This weapon had ceased to dethrone kings or to bring nations to their knees. Its preparation did not deter Henry from his course nor frighten Cranmer or Cromwell. Under the guidance of these men the reform went steadily if slowly forward. They had to face opposition among the prelates and in the council. Both were hotly hated, Cromwell for not coming of aristocratic blood, Cranmer for his persistent Protestantism. Still the English church was insistent, as was Henry, for the acceptance of Catholic tenets. To deny the real presence would send the heretics to the stake, while with them would go to the scaffold the Catholics who denied the

king's supremacy. The religious consciousness was fettered both ways, the stout English character being able to furnish martyrs to each belief. The foundation stones of religious liberty for the Anglo-Saxons were being cemented with blood.

The great leaders of the movement, Cranmer from his place as archbishop of Canterbury and Cromwell from his place as vicar-general of the kingdom, sought to substitute a better religious faith for the old one. The new forces of the printing press were made to serve. A primer of devotion was issued in 1535, probably by royal impulse, and since the Bible had been denied to people lower than the rank of gentleman, the primer was doubtless designed for the lower classes. The Creed, the Lord's Prayer, Ten Commandments, and other portions of Scripture were commended and had explanatory notes, with prayers, psalms and the litany. A second edition was soon demanded, but after Cromwell's fall it was recalled. Still for years books and pamphlets of many kinds had been coming in piles from the continent. Tyndale's version of the Bible had been doing its beneficent work of enlightenment, in vain were all efforts of the prelates and of royalty to stop this invasion. The people would read. Learning letters made them rejoice in a new-found power. In it was promise of more rights and freedom. At a meeting of the Convocation in 1536 a list of fifty-nine errors and abuses said to be growing prevalent was sent from the Lower House to the Upper One, showing the ferment and change going on. Of these so-called errors one was that the church consisted

only of good people, others, that ceremonies not warranted by Scripture were of human invention and so could be laid aside, that priests could marry, that it was as lawful to eat meat on Good Friday as on any other day, that auricular confession, absolution, were neither necessary nor beneficial, that no reverence ought to be paid to the images of the saints, that confession to God was sufficient for anybody, that the Blessed Virgin was no better than any other woman and could not prevail with our Savior any more than any person of her sex, that there was no purgatory, that going on pilgrimages, giving alms, fasting, need not be used.

Such questions debated in private, discussed in print and combated by the Convocation, were the alphabet of Protestant freedom. The Lower House complained also that some books examined by the Convocation and found full of heresy and heterodoxy were not expressly condemned by the bishops, being permitted to remain in the hands of the unlearned people, thus furnishing the vulgar with arguments to dispute against the Church. It was doubtless a shot at Cranmer, Latimer and Saxton. Over against this arraignment for heresy the friends of reform in the upper house of Convocation, which seems to have been about evenly divided for reform and against it, subscribed a list of articles looking toward a better religious life, the Scriptures as a rule of faith being commended, also the earlier creeds, as the Apostles', Nicene, Athanasius, yet demanding uniformity of beliefs and observances. They claimed that remission of sins was obtained by bap-

tism to which for salvation infants must be brought. Penance to them was a sacrament, transubstantiation allowed to be true, images might remain in the churches but were not to be worshiped, nor saints, though they were to be honored, to put men in mind of spiritual things which they signified. So sprinkling of holy water, using ashes on Ash Wednesday, creeping to the cross on Good Friday and certain other ceremonies were not to be cast away. While mostly giving up purgatory, they denied the pope's power to set free from it, looking askance also upon prayers and alms for the dead. To this list of articles forty prelates of the upper house and fifty members of the lower house subscribed. And still for heresy the stake held its burning victims.

Along with other imperfect or false notions prevalent a great mass of superstitions was retained. For the sake of attracting devotees to a shrine or abbey or hermitage, to be enriched by offerings from those making the pilgrimage, a report would be scattered among the people that diseases could be cured, projects could be put forward, sins remitted, or a journey be carried to a favorable end through the intercession of the saint whose shrine was thus honored or by the prayers of the attendant monks. It was similar to the old worship at wishing wells and trust in amulets. Indeed at that time and later, holy wells were invoked. Apparitions were constantly appearing and evil spirits were frequent attendants. At this time a deep belief in witchcraft was also present, which continued through the succeeding reigns, the laws harrying to death those ac-

cused of this folly. The hanging of witches in America was only a transfer of the laws and beliefs from the mother country.

In 1537, there came out under parliamentary orders, a book designed to direct the whole clergy in their teaching the people and in their own conduct. As remission of sins and salvation were to be found only in the pale of the Catholic church, damnatory sentence was pronounced upon all heathens, Jews and infidels. The words of absolution at confession, the book claimed, ought to be depended upon as though they were declared from the sky and spoken by God himself. Stress too great, the book said, was laid upon unimportant ceremonies, some people thinking it a greater sin to eat an egg on Friday than to commit theft or fornication.

Two years later another statement of the nation's beliefs and observances was thrown out with royal sanction, since called "The Bloody Six Articles." Being the product of Roman predominancy in Council and Convocation, really a papal reaction, it was in some points antagonistic to previous declarations. The real presence was insisted upon, communion in but one kind declared, no marriage of priests allowed, private masses and auricular confession continued. For heresy the punishments were confiscation of goods and the penalty of felony. But those accused under these articles could be tried by jury, a most beneficial escape from the narrowness of the ecclesiastical courts.

The Bible in English was suppressed. Cranmer



strongly dissented from these backward movements. Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, and Saxton of Salisbury resigned their sees and having spoken against these articles were thrown into prison as were hundreds of others throughout the kingdom, till Henry, at the remonstrance of Cranmer, who still held the royal confidence, and of Cromwell, set them free. But under these articles many were sent to the stake, though Cromwell saved all he could. In one day four Dutch Anabaptists, three of them women, after publicly bearing fagots to St. Paul's, were burned at Smithfield. Cromwell who had so faithfully served the king, now being in the monarch's way, was cried to a traitor's death by a papal faction.

Again permission was obtained for all to read the Bible, the king being in favor of this opportunity. Bonner, bishop of London, was so liberal that he ordered his clergy to read at least a chapter a day in the New Testament, the pastors to compose their own sermons, and that six Bibles should be set up for public reading in St. Paul's. The change going on was marked by the setting forth of another book of doctrine in 1543, the king himself writing the preface. It was named "A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for the Christian Man." Actually it was a revised, changed edition of the institutions put forth in 1537. The book taught free will and that justification was the making men righteous before God, reconciled, and heirs of eternal life. Prayers were to be put up in the English so the people would know what they were saying. In the baptism of infants, the cross was to be signed on the forehead

and elsewhere, salt was to be put into the mouth, the nostrils and ears to be touched with spittle, the breast anointed with holy oil, while the parents should pledge their own belief and promise to teach it to the child. Singing and the organ were to be used to incite the people to devotion, the various parts of the priest's apparel were to signify some mystic meaning. Sundays were to be used in divine service, various holy days were commendable and to be observed. In this advance, provision was also made for teaching the people over all the kingdom by means of itinerating preachers, the diffusion of homilies, sermons and explanations. Plays, farces, and interludes burlesquing the monks were to cease. This book Cranmer signed though dissatisfied with the slow progress of the Reformation.

## CHAPTER XVIII

The relation of England to the papacy during the later years of Henry's reign presents a curious spectacle. Under certain conditions the pope had promised Henry a divorce from Catherine. Attempts at different times to reconcile the papacy to the king had failed. The papal bull, held in secret for some time, was in 1538 thrown out against the strenuous king. The king was granted ninety days to appear at Rome in person, or by proxy, to answer for his course and in case of failure the kingdom was to be put under interdict, Henry was to be declared infamous, and the issue of Anne Boleyn illegitimate. Men were to have no dealings with him, all the clergy were commanded to go out of the kingdom within five days except enough to baptize infants and give the sacrament to the dying, all noblemen were charged to rise in arms against him. If other kingdoms traded or had intercourse with him they were also to be put under interdict, and were called to make war upon him and break all treaties with him. Such fulminations were little dreaded any longer in England, for all the bishops signed a declaration against these papal pretensions, declaring war on papal jurisdiction. The continental powers were heedless of the injunctions to them of the pope. There was no progress to Canossa for this Henry, no waiting barefoot in the snow for absolution.

Some efforts were made by the German Protestant princes and by leaders in England to combine the reformers of both countries into a defensive body to resist in arms the Romish forces sent against them. But Henry, always shy of the Lutherans, temporized because Charles Fifth was uncle to Catherine. As time passed Henry's shifting course caused distrust among the sturdy Germans, the reform in England not proceeding fast enough to suit them. Melanchthon had joined his scholarly arguments in vain with those sent by the German princes.

Through these changing times a constant attrition took place between the legal proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts and of the temporal jurisdiction. In 1530 the Commons complained to the king that the clergy made laws in conflict with the constitution, and the king, finding it true, extorted from them a promise to keep their oath to him. They refused in the Convocation to abrogate any of the old canon laws, yet promised to make no new ones contrary to the constitution. Of course the clergy were sharply opposed to such curtailment of their prerogatives but in vain. An amazing privilege of the ecclesiastics, termed benefits of clergy, had been existent through generations past and now steps were taken to change it so that all subjects would be placed under one law. By that custom or law one convicted of a crime could, by proving himself a cleric, be saved from punishment by the temporal powers. To correct such abuses was a study of statesmen. In Elizabeth's reign, offenders were not

turned over to the church courts but branded on the cheek and sent away.

In Scotland a most remarkable preacher came to the front, John Knox, who about 1542 professed himself a Protestant. He was of the middle class, thoroughly educated in the University of Glasgow where later he taught. Soon after professing Protestantism he began preaching and in some of the turbulence of the times was captured by the French at the Castle of St. Andrews, and while serving at an oar in their galleys encouraged the reformers in Scotland with his pen. In 1549 Knox was set at liberty, and spent some years in England and on the continent previous to his herculean labors for the Reformation in Scotland. After the death of James, the queen regent, an ardent Catholic, persistently stood in the path of reform, putting in her claim, like Henry Eighth, of royal prerogative, but among her subjects an opinion was arising that if a majority of the people desired a change they could enter upon it themselves. They were asking for church services in the vernacular, and for reform in the lives of the prelates. But as in England, the way to these and other reforms was a way of blood. A decrepit old priest, Walter Mill, quit mass and began preaching against that, also against the worship of images and the corporal presence, the seven sacraments and pilgrimages, claiming the priests had a right to marry, condemning the office of bishop, and went holding meetings in private houses. The archbishop of St. Andrews had him brought to trial where he ably defended his work, but was or-

dered to be burnt. No executioner could be found to light the fire till a servant of the archbishop consented to serve as such, the archbishop furnishing cords from his pavilion to bind the poor old cripple.

Petitions for reform to the queen regent receiving no response, a group of the nobility entered into an agreement that things should be so far reformed that the Book of Common Prayer used in England should be used in Scotland and that meetings might be held in private houses. A Council of the clergy moved toward certain reforms, the Parliament, being in the hands of the Protestants, demanded that the papal religion be discarded, and that the ecclesiastical revenues of the old system be used to support the ministry of the new system. But there was to be no toleration, since attendance upon mass was, for the first time to be forfeit of goods with corporal punishment, for the second offense, banishment, and for the third, death. A plan of education that put a school in every parish was formulated, in which were taught religion, grammar and Latin, plans which have been practically carried out to the present.

Mobs clamored for reform and the Protestant clergy with the nobles appealed to arms to protect themselves in their faith. The monasteries and cloisters were by act of Parliament suppressed, but the hot-hearted people preceded the committee and in various ways demolished these hotbeds of corruption. And not stopping with these houses, the mob tore down the churches, deeming any building with a steeple a place of idolatry, filching the plate, bells

and other valuables, and selling them at the public market. In one of the appeals to arms, the dissolute Mary was taken prisoner by the nobles, but escaping, made her way to English territory and put herself under Elizabeth's protection. The Jesuit plans and plots thickened about the exiled queen until Elizabeth, to protect her crown and kingdom, allowed Mary's trial and execution.

As in England, the church properties conveyed to the crown were largely caught up by the courtiers so that the crown lost much of its income. During the minority of the young James, the government was carried on by a regency of the powerful nobles, the prince evincing a purpose to rid the country of Jesuits, seminaries and priests, and desiring the people to conform to one rule of church life. As he assumed control of royal affairs in the last decade of the century, he fretted deeply like Elizabeth under the stout purposes of the ultra reformers.

In Ireland, the situation was very unsettled. The mass of the Irish people were faithful to the Catholic service while the English of the Pale, the strip of country occupied by them, acknowledged in their local Parliament the royal supremacy and the separation from Rome. When the great wealth taken from the knights of St. John was passed into the royal exchequer, it was ordered, as a way to put some of it into use, that vicarages should be built for every parish in Ireland. The fiery Irish people would hardly follow the reform doctrines and practices held by their oppressors. Indeed, among the real Irish people the Reformation never made much

progress. At those times as ever since they have continued true, loyal children of the pope.

In 1547 Henry Eighth saw that death was crowding nigh him. In Henry's last address to his Parliament, he complained of the bitter dissensions rife, saying the Scriptures had been given to the nation to inform the conscience, to teach families and children and not to cause disputes. He did not see that out of this chaos of controversy were emerging progress and liberty. Henry had done three great things for England, separated the nation from the papacy, dissolved the monasteries, and given the Bible to the people. These events during his long reign, high-handed, tyrannical though he was in many respects, were of vast worth to England. By some admirers he has been called "The Father of His Country." If the people feared him they loved him. Even the ultra reformers showed respect and affection for him. His country was ever foremost in his purposes. Wolsey and Cromwell, though he doomed them to unmerited death, were able statesmen whose great abilities were at the service of the monarch, and history, while it will execrate his treatment of them, can rejoice that he had command of their wider vision. Cranmer, of less virile nature than either of those men, was so trusted by the king that his influence for reform and the quieter virtues of Christianity was measureless.



## CHAPTER XIX

Edward Sixth, the boy king, came to the crown in 1547. By the will of Henry Eighth the government during Edward's minority was committed to a commission of sixteen about evenly divided between Catholics and Protestants. The king's maternal uncle, the Earl of Hertford, held first place in this commission, and being a reformer, exerted his commanding influence upon the new way. Edward, now nine years of age, though weak in body was of most precocious mind. He was thoroughly taught the principles of Protestantism. The late king had taken great care that not only Edward, but also Mary and Elizabeth, should be given the best instruction possible to obtain. Hertford desired with Cranmer from his influential place as Archbishop of Canterbury to push the Reformation with rapid advances, but the nation was hardly prepared to follow. Possibly one-half or more of the people were like a part of the commission, yet strongly of Catholic practice. Lord Wroetsley, the Lord Chancellor, became in the Council and in the nation at large a leader of this section.

The Lord Protector, on assuming power had been devout in prayer, being so trusted by the people as to be called "The Good Duke." In attempting to make a treaty with Scotland to include a marriage between the Scot Princess Mary, and Edward, he pointed out the un-Christian spirit in the antagonism

between the two nations, which could now be allayed by this marriage, and with God for defense they could thus united defy all foreign attacks. The state papers of this period were marked by a devout spirit while prominent commissioners on important missions prayed God to go with them. On the young king's coronation three swords were carried before him to represent the three kingdoms of his domain, England, France and Ireland, and he called for the fourth one, the Bible, which he said was the sword of the Spirit.

The Commission set aside Henry's request for the repose of his soul, six hundred pounds a year conferred upon certain clerics of St. George's chapel to say masses and to do four solemn abits a year. They ordered also the omission of the religious observance since that body did not believe in the efficacy of such services. Refugees oversea receiving inspiration from the continental reformers urged more rapid progress toward radical reform. On the other hand the monks scattered from the suppressed monasteries were a sore means of discontent among those with whom they had not lost influence, in this way holding back the advance that otherwise could have been made, as well as keeping many ready for the Catholic reaction promised to be brought in by Mary. The Commission had the laws about heresy and about the Lollards repealed, as also the Bloody Six Articles. For the time auricular confession was left indifferent, a thing characterized by Hume as "the most powerful engine that was ever contrived for degrading the laity and giving their spiritual guardians ascendancy over them."

At this time the object of religion was well stated: "It is chiefly designed for perfecting the nature of man, for improving his faculties, governing his actions and securing the peace of every man's conscience, and of the societies of mankind in common." Some homilies of which Cranmer was mostly the author were given the parish ministers designed to furnish them the facts and give upward impulse, for the progress of truth was greatly hindered by ignorant and incompetent preachers. These homilies taught the people the importance of using the Scriptures, the misery caused by sin, that salvation was by Christ through true and living faith, the place of good works was stated, the people were warned against swearing, perjury, apostasy, foulness, and fear of death, and were taught obedience to laws and magistrates. Images calling for pilgrimages were to be taken down, in no case being allowed except to refresh the memory. The Bible and the paraphrases of Erasmus were to be put into the churches. All fixtures of feigned miracles were to be destroyed. Two significant restrictions were named, that clerics should not frequent ale houses, and that people at enmity with their neighbors should not come to the communion. Chantry priests were to become schoolmasters, teaching the young to read and write. Such colleges and chantries as had been spared by Henry were granted by Parliament to Edward.

As in the preceding reign passions ran high. Many people became iconoclastic, in mobs clearing the churches of images and other things they deemed idolatrous. Vehement preachers like Doctor John

Harley of Magdalene College, Oxford, declared against the pope and the old beliefs. Harley being examined by the college authorities was sent to London as a heretic but was there privately dismissed. In the second year of the king's reign, the images not having been cleared from all the churches, the Protector ordered them all down and their adornments turned over to the king's use. At the same time the Catholics were active, Gardiner defending the use of images and of holy water against which Ridley had been preaching. Two books, one claiming Anne Askew's death to be martyrdom, the other on Luther's death, were offensive to the Catholics and Gardiner also appealed against them. This prelate on the visitation being sent to him, refused compliance, and being warned wrote in his defense that he had observed the constitution, the book "Erudition," the acts of Parliament, the homilies and injunction of the visitors, yet he was put into the fleet. The bishop of London, also being incarcerated for non-compliance, took down on his release the images of Jesus, Mary, John and Paul from all the churches of the metropolis.

As under Henry, Cambridge University continued to lead in the spirit of enlightenment and reform, educating and sending out men who by their teachings and martyrdom were to sustain the Reformation in England and beyond. Learned people steadily accepting the reformed views were becoming leaders in the national progress. Cranmer finding that some highly educated Germans were being persecuted in their own country invited them to England and the

valuable help they rendered was very great. Martin Bucer was given the chair of divinity at Cambridge, Peter Martyr, a Florentine, the same at Oxford, and Paulus Fagius, the chair of Hebrew at Cambridge. John Alasco, a Polish nobleman of reformed views, also made welcome, soon became pastor of a congregation of refugees in London.

Since much diversity of service had grown up, and only uniformity was desired, toleration not even being dreamed of, a book of liturgy was ordered to be used in all the churches. This prepared with great care, was sent out in January, 1548, really being the first book of Common Prayer. It was arranged for the Psalms to be said in their order, the lessons were to be copied from the English Bible, making them simple and easy of comprehension. Some objections being made to this book, a revised edition was sent out four years later, mostly in the form it has persisted in to the present. Possibly next to the Bible the Book of Common Prayer has had most to do in shaping the uses and customs connected with the religious life of the Anglo-Saxon race. In this revised edition confession and absolution were left out, as other steps were taken for reform, but many rites and ceremonies remained. Liturgy connected with communion was simplified and that sacrament was to be given in both kinds. In baptism the anointing and exorcism were not required, nor prayers for the dead in the burial service. The doctrine of purgatory was discarded. An order making the new liturgy obligatory upon all came out from the court. The permission for the clergy to

marry was a most important step toward better morals, the rector having the amenities of a home, cared for by one interested in it, the natural joys and impulses arising from family life coming to him, while women as wives of clergymen were aided in the Christian virtues.

Heated debate and acrimonious contention continued during this period about the eucharist. The Catholic party was persistent for the real presence, while a strong party of unbiased thinkers departed far from the notion of transubstantiation. Ridley headed a disputation before the royal Commission contending for two points, first that transubstantiation could not be proved from the Bible, or from the Fathers a thousand years after Christ, second, that at the communion there was no oblation or sacrifice except by way of remembrance of Christ's death. In the Book of Prayer in the first edition the form ran: "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life." In the second edition it was changed to this: "Take, eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee and feed on Him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving." In the revised edition the wine was given with this formula: "Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful."

A third group of beliefs and practices began to take form in Edward's time which have persisted to our own day, compelling a kind of triangular form to the religious parties of England. This wing of the religious life was not satisfied that the Anglican

church retained so many ceremonies of the medieval church but rather sought simplicity of service and doctrine. Because of their persistent appeals to the Bible, and especially to the Gospels, they were dubbed "Gospellers," and were the parents of present non-conformity in England. They bore various names and believed various doctrines. Kent seemed a very hotbed of these dissidents, for in it were found Anabaptists, who did not believe in infant baptism and would baptize such the second time, Pelagians, Freewillers, those believing children were not born to original sin, others who thought it sin to play games for money, while some gathered for worship on other than holydays, and others still would not kneel at communion. Unitarians were also in evidence, prominent among these being Joan of Kent, who insisted that Jesus did not take any of the flesh of the Virgin. Being arrested, tried, and condemned as a heretic, she said that Anne Askew was burned for a piece of bread and now she was to suffer the same way for a piece of flesh. To the honor of the boy king and to the infamy of the enlightened Cranmer it must be told that the king tried to save Joan from the sentence of burning at Smithfield, but under the importunity of the archbishop, Edward in tears finally signed the death warrant.

Nonconformity was also persistent with the Princess Mary, who, a stout Catholic, refused alike to use the Anglican service or to give up her own. They tried intimidation, the young king tried personal importunities, her chaplains were sent to prison, but the stout Tudor nature could assert itself

in religious matters as well as in political ones. Ridley being sent to remonstrate with her desired to preach to her, but she repelled him. In other high places the laws were not observed; Bonner, bishop of London, not fully using the liturgy, being called to account and showing an insolent spirit, was deprived of his bishopric and cast into prison, where he remained until the accession of Mary.

A commission of thirty-two, clerics and laity, having been appointed early in Edward's reign to draw out a body of church laws from the mass of canonical ones, finished their work in 1553, but this code, not having received the royal signature, never became a law. In this code one accused of heresy and in some other cases could appeal from one court to another up to the king, which was a most important step toward protection of rights, for heresy still, including blasphemy, could be pursued to death's punishment. Only two sacraments were recognized, communion and baptism. Witchcraft, idolatry, consulting conjurers, and divining by lot were to be punished at the discretion of an ecclesiastical judge. Penalties, both ecclesiastical and temporal, were named against those guilty of polygamy, foulness, priestly incontinence, and similar crimes. Ordeals were denied and purgation carefully guarded. Singing of psalms was permitted but well hedged about.

The doctrines of the Established church were put into authoritative form in 1553, couched in forty-two articles, stating the fundamental Scriptural teachings in succinct, definite language. They affirm the unity of God, the divinity of Christ and his resurrection, justification by faith, predestination, baptism



and communion in two sacraments, the royal supremacy under Christ of the English church, and the sanctity of oaths. These forty-two articles slightly modified and reduced to thirty-nine, are the articles now giving shape to Anglican belief. They are practically considered infallible since no one can be received into the communion of that church without subscribing to those articles. Yet modified by various non-conforming sects, they are practically the statement of faith of the whole Anglo-Saxon race.

Along with other evidences of evolution was the growing power of conscience enlightened by Scripture teachings, for the people were hungrily reading the Bible and slowly conforming to its precepts. All restrictions of printing or of reading the precious Book were removed, the people eagerly making use of the Great Bible and the Paraphrases of Erasmus that had been set up in the churches, and during the reign of six years, seven editions of the Great Bible, three of Mathew's, two of Coverdale's, and thirty-five of the New Testament, were issued. Bucer wrote to the king urging that he stop sequestrating the property of colleges and churches, as the injury of these was a detriment to the nation. The rapacious courtiers had so filched the property of the universities that they were greatly crippled and learning ran low. The gentry, following the courtiers, had laid hold upon the endowment of the grammar schools so that the youth were not prepared and sent up to the universities. Even the vicarages were not spared by the courtiers. Edward did much to lessen the distressing situation by founding new grammar schools, and a college at Galway, Ireland. He, like Charle-

magne, had a school in his court to teach those under his immediate touch. When week-day preaching was set up at the market towns, crowds of eager people flocked to hear it, for Edward, having six chaplains, kept two by himself and sent out the other four on itinerary preaching to the people. Durham was made a county palatine and granted to the Duke of Northumberland. A son of this duke had married the Lady Jane Grey, cousin of Edward, and daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, and the Duke of Northumberland, now Lord Protector, sought Edward's consent to have her succeed him on the throne, notwithstanding the will of Henry Eighth naming the Princess Mary as his successor. As the Lady Jane was a Protestant and Mary a Catholic, the dying king was easily won to the plan, and while the chief justice, Cranmer, with other leading men at first demurred, finally they all consented, all, the Privy Council, Judges, archbishop and others, signing a bill of articles establishing the plan.

On July 6, 1553, Edward having been king for six years, and yet not sixteen, died. It is usually claimed that the Reformation took definite form during his short reign, but this period was too short to make great changes in the nation. The sorrow to a land whose king is a child was vividly suffered by England. The disgust of the better element of reform at the unblushing rapacity evinced by the leading men, and the not groundless complaints of the Catholics, helped prepare the hearty reception of Mary to the exclusion of Lady Jane Grey under the specious plan of Northumberland.

## CHAPTER XX

It became apparent at once that Mary on her accession was determined to stop all reformatory measures, and to restore Catholic rights and doctrines. This is not strange since she had been strictly taught in those beliefs under her Spanish mother, as Edward had been taught Protestant beliefs under direction of his mother's Protestant relatives. The queen, like her late brother, was of feeble frame, possibly ill health aided in rendering her peevish and stubborn. Protestant and Catholic alike helped her to the throne, the Suffolk Protestants claiming that she promised not to make any alterations in religion. She had Catholic rites done at Edward's funeral, dirige, and requiem sung in Latin, though later forbade prayers for her brother's soul. At her coronation also the ceremonies were those of a Catholic cult. At once she had Bishops Bonner, Gardiner and others, lying in prison, released and restored to their sees, depriving those placed in the seats of these men during Edward's time. Shortly Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, and others were thrown into prison, some fled oversea, the congregations of foreigners were broken up, these people and their pastors being given twenty-four hours to leave the kingdom. The bones of Bucer and Fagius were dug up and burned while those of Peter Martyr's wife were also dug up from the churchyard and buried in a dunghill. The

duke of Northumberland and other prominent men leading the movement in favor of Lady Jane Grey were executed as traitors.

Parliament annulled certain laws of preceding reigns, that by which Catherine had been divorced, thus making Mary legitimate but denying that right to Elizabeth, and a new oath of fealty was exacted. The former liturgies were forbidden, Scripture verses painted on the church walls were erased, altars restored, images set up, masses renewed, and most of the people conformed. Mary, they said, was their rightful sovereign and they would obey her. The laws of Edward's reign, those against premunire, felony and treason were repealed, as were those allowing priests to marry. The pressure put upon the universities was yielded to, Catholic rites restored, reforming professors and fellows set adrift, among the latter being Fox, who would later write the history of the martyrs in this reign. The bishop of York, like Cranmer, was deprived of his seat. The refugees to the continent numbering hundreds gathered in the cities of Antwerp, Strasburg, Frankfort, Zurich, Cologne and others, setting up Protestant worship and being aided with funds and sympathy from England. The queen ordered the question of transubstantiation to be debated in the Convocation and settled into canon law, and the Catechism sent out in the preceding reign to be suppressed.

The pope at once began hoping and planning for the return of England to the papal fold, sending secret emissaries to the queen, who assured him that she desired to have the country reconciled to Rome.

To aid in accomplishing this she asked to have Reginald Pole, that relative of Henry driven from England, sent to her with legatine powers, and though many of Mary's councilors feared to have this done, yet, after some delay, he was permitted to return to England and as soon as Cranmer was burned Pole accepted the archbishopric of Canterbury. Much would depend upon the husband Mary might choose and for so fair a mate as the queen of England would be, with the power and riches of the great kingdom with her, there would be many suitors. At that time Spain was by far the most extensive and powerful of all European nations, so that Mary could well be flattered that the Spanish prince, Philip, son of the Emperor Charles Fifth, should seek her in marriage. Dread and fear arose in England over the match but it was made, the prince with his mule loads of bullion to corrupt Parliament and the clergy coming to meet his bride. She was thirty-seven, he twenty-five. She was an English Tudor, he a dashing young Spaniard.

But in spite of his gold and his iridescent hopes Parliament enacted that the officers of the church as well as all others of the realm should remain at the disposal of the queen. The dislike of the Spanish match and fear for the reforms needed caused an insurrection in Protestant Kent, under Sir Thomas Wyatt. The Devonshire people fell in with the rebels but the rising was futile, the majority of people recognizing the legality of Mary's sovereignty and sustaining her on their consciences. Death came to the innocent Lady Jane Grey, to Wyatt, Suffolk and

to many of their prominent followers, while for a time a spirit of collusion endangered even Elizabeth.

Mary, after this fiasco, was evidently more secure than before in pushing popish reaction. Orders were soon sent out to prelates to see that ecclesiastical laws in force in Henry Eighth's time be put into active use now, if they were not in opposition to the laws of the kingdom. A commission consisting of Bishops Gardiner, Bonner, and Tonsal was appointed to "convert" the archbishop of York, Robert of St. David's, John of Chester and Paul of Bristol, and if they were married to deprive them of their sees. They were deprived, as were three more reforming bishops—Hooper, Healey, and Taylor. With these changes sixteen new bishops were put into those places made vacant or into sees prepared for the new order. It was estimated by Bishop Parker in the next reign that of sixteen thousand clergy in various places, twelve thousand were deprived, though lower estimates, one as small as three thousand, had been made by others.

Into these vacancies monks and friars turned out of their places in previous reigns were put, as well as utterly incompetent and unprepared men, gluttonous, idle, luxurious, whose work among the people was most distressing, quarreling with them frequently about the fees for masses, diriges, baptisms, and other offices, "pattering and wawling" their Latin service, little of which they or their people understood. A visitation was now projected with this set of questions: Whether the clergy so lived,

taught, did, that in the judgment of indifferent men they seemed to seek the honor of God, the church and the queen, whether they were married, kept hospitality, secured a curate when absent from their parish, devoutly celebrated the service and the processions, or were suspected of heresy, haunted ale houses, taverns, bowling alleys, conventicles, officiated in English, visited the sick, went in habit and tonsure, carried swords or daggers, expounded the Apostles' Creed, Ten Commandments, taught the people to love God and their neighbors, the seven deadly sins, the seven heavenly virtues, the seven works of mercy, and the seven sacraments. A formidable list of clerical duties, but how about their people?

The imprisoned bishops, Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley, were given an opportunity of debating the burning question of the time, that of the real presence. On the presentation of the written statements to them in prison they all declared them untrue. These prisoners had but a day or two of notice to enter the debate, were not allowed access to their books or papers, were not permitted to confer with each other, as steps toward a fair field. After enduring an unfair discussion, brow-beaten and abused, they were all declared heretics and were again remanded to prison.

The Protestants, crowded to suffocation in all the prisons, united in a statement of beliefs, desiring to put them before the queen, the Court and Parliament. They said they believed the Old Testament and the New Testament books, the Catholic church, the Apostles' Creed, and certain of the earliest

church Councils. They defined justification to be wholly of the mercy of God through Christ, which could be known by faith, that being a persuasion wrought in the mind by the Holy Ghost, with submission to the will of God. They denounced many of the papal doctrines and desired the public services in English. They favored the marriage of the clergy.

The brutality at this time shown for religious opinions was most astounding. After a thousand years of Christian profession the highly inflamed condition of mind seemed to restore the deadly spirit of the old heathenism. Protestant was hardly less brutal than papist. It will be seen in the succeeding reign that leading Puritans also failed in toleration though themselves in this reign were made terrible sufferers by this spirit. It is a joy that in the reign of Edward Sixth it can be said that not a Catholic was put to death for his religious opinions. But in this reign, from archbishop to mere boys, just for an opinion on the real presence they were burned at the stake by the score. To deny that Christ's body was brought to the sacrament by the ritual said by the priest over the bread and wine, was to pronounce one's own death sentence. Gardiner thought a few cases of extreme punishment would deter others from heresy, but each burning seemed in its recoil on the feelings of the people to make a hundred heretics. It appears that Cardinal Pole soon saw the futility of these severities, turning the punishment of the heretics mostly into the hands of Bonner and Gardiner and even Gardiner appeared to be weary of the



bloody brutality, leaving Bonner to do the work and bear the odium.

The sickening scenes cannot all be told. The lingering dungeon for slow starvation and disease to do their fateful work, the excruciating rack, the threatened terrors of an eternal hell, were used to frighten men, women and children to accept the mild teachings of the gentle Nazarene.

But it was all in vain.

The piled-up, remorseless killing was making the nation enraged. Bonner and but few others held on in the persecution.

Cardinal Pole being deputed as legate to arrange for the return to Rome, the formality of reconciliation was gone through. On St. Andrew's day, the two houses of Parliament, after an address to them by the Cardinal, waited upon the Court, when the Lord Chancellor inquired of them if they were ready to ask the Cardinal for their pardon, to acknowledge the papal supremacy and return to the Catholic church. A few responded, yea, and the silence of the remainder being taken for consent, a petition to this effect was presented to the king and queen. In honor of this return processions were made in Rome and in London, but in the latter no cries of "God Save," no caps were thrown into the air to show public joy, which so enraged Gardiner that he caused many arrests. Papal directions were given to Pole on his starting for England to forgive repentant heretic priests who should relinquish their wives, to lessen the strict observance of Lent, permitting eggs, milk and meat if the physician should so order. The

pope demanded Peter Pence again and denounced the alienation of church lands.

As in previous times efforts were made to keep out books but in vain. As early as 1558, a proclamation came out against having heretical books, the penalty for this treason being that such should be counted rebels and should be executed under martial law. The exiles on the continent looked to it that the land should be well supplied with books and pamphlets upon current issues. The press steadily grew to be a sublime power. Not only was it used in the great issues between Protestant and Catholic, but by it the reformers among themselves discussed free will, Arianism, Pelagianism. Reading the Bible does not seem to have been denied in England during this reign, but the refugees, thinking a new version was needed, began the famous Geneva Bible which was issued the year after Mary's death. The violent Knox had predicted a speedy deliverance, and indeed a general impression prevailed, both among the refugees and in England, that Mary's reign would be short. Coverdale also wrote to encourage the persecuted ones. Knox's "Blast Against the Monstrous Regiment (Government) of Women" was written against Mary, but not coming out in England until Elizabeth's time caused that sensitive sovereign to hate the writer, notwithstanding his apology that Providence might have appointed her to reform religion.

In those terrible years a true sense of charity burned in the hearts of some who aided the prisoners

and abandoned families with money, food, care and sympathy. Bernher, a Switzer, heedless of danger and toil, went among the prisons and prisoners, a very angel of mercy. One George Eagle, a tailor, was nicknamed "Trudgeover," because in his humble way he went trudging over the country teaching and confirming the reformers in their course, through Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk and Kent. It was treason to collect more than six persons in a meeting for any purpose, but often in secret he had many to listen to him. The Council finally setting a price of twenty pounds on him, secured his person, hung and quartered him for treason. Nor was he alone in this work since preachers in other parts went among the people, teaching, comforting, and encouraging. Even in London where the brutal Bonner was harrying to the death his number of two hundred, Bentham, a reformer, and others acting as pastors, had meetings constantly, moving their gatherings from place to place, sometimes as many as two hundred collecting in the teeth of death to hear the preacher and to read the Bible.

So intense did the persecuting spirit become that great fear arose lest the Inquisition should be set up in England as it was in Spain and in other countries. Indeed, a visitation was set up which went far toward that terrible thing. A large commission was formed any three of whom could by witnesses, presentment or other politic way they could devise, search out all heresies, disseminators of heretical books, punish all who did not attend mass or go to church, or enter

processions, or take holy bread and water. Information in these cases was to be rendered secretly but not to be entered on the records.

The number that perished under the awful persecutions of those five years will doubtless never be known. One historian counts up two hundred seventy-seven. Another places the number at two hundred eighty-four, of these fifty-five being women and four children. A writer in Elizabeth's reign put the number at four hundred. In a life of Ridley written in that reign, presumably by Grindal, it is said in the preface that eight hundred perished in the first two years of Mary's reign. Besides those counted as perishing at the stake, hundreds died in prisons, from starvation, loathsome diseases, and from that despair apt to creep upon one in such durance. It was claimed also that many were murdered in prison like Richard Hunne in the time of Henry Eighth.

During the year 1558 the queen's health presaged the approach of death. Some time before, her husband had deserted her and England. All her efforts to restore papal control in her country appeared to be futile. The people at large were less inclined to accept that rule than when she came to the throne. The people also saw that she was the foremost agent in the terrible persecutions and bloodshed. She saw that the mass of her subjects were alienated from her and were turning their longing eyes to the woman who was to succeed her. Finally, with these accumulated distresses, Mary, long suffering from internal ailment, died of the dropsy November 17, 1558. The queen we can think from this distance away did the

best she knew. The Spanish blood and the Tudor spirit can be accused of producing much of her bigotry and narrowness. She was devoutly pious, composing hearty prayers, one for the time of sickness, another for the approach of death. Of spotless character, well educated, she gave liberally to church enterprises and founded several valuable institutions, yet lacked patriotism that would do noble things for the nation. The church instead of the nation absorbed her affections and labors.

## CHAPTER XXI

Elizabeth came to the throne after two reigns of comparative failure. That of Edward Sixth was not a success in its Protestantism, nor were the four years of Mary a success in their Catholicism. No united England was prepared for the one or the other religious practice. Elizabeth and the astute statesmen she gathered about her saw this condition of the nation so that her beginnings to both parties must have seemed vague. She had herself conformed to the Catholic ritual as required by Mary's laws, though it was supposed to be a policy method for safety rather than as a matter of conscience or of faith. The Romish ritual was used at the coronation, Bishop Oglethorpe of Carlisle performing it, the archbishop of York hesitating to crown her, owing to her supposed sympathy with the Reformation. She was deeply moved by the enthusiasm of the populace, bowing and smiling at their hearty welcome. Her recognition of them was a new thing to the English from a sovereign, and it was prophetic of the way she was to appeal to the affections of her subjects throughout a long reign.

Her Council was partly of reformers and partly of papists, though her trusted counselors from the first were a small group of those favorable to reform. Cecil, who had held some court place in Edward's time, but had lived in the retirement of his manors in Mary's reign, was chosen chief secretary, and as

long as he lived till near the end of her reign was foremost in directing her deliberations. At once persecution ceased, those imprisoned for their religion being set at liberty. Portions of the Bible in church services were allowed to be read in English. The Lord Keeper told both houses of Parliament "that the honor of God was the queen's principal concern, claiming precedence in the debates, that religion was the surest support of the commonwealth, that uniformity in belief and practice was a necessary condition." In this last claim for uniformity lay a germ of many future troubles. The Convocation by the bishops sent up an address to the House of Lords, urging three matters, that there should be no change allowed in doctrines especially touching the real presence, that there should be no precedency of St. Peter's power permitted, and third, that ecclesiastical questions should be settled by the clergy. Over these questions great debates were carried on but no definite results were reached. The Book of Common Prayer was soon brought forward from its banishment of the preceding reign, reviewed and slightly revised and ordered into use, though the prelates opposed it. On the day of St. John Baptist it went into universal use though not wholly pleasing to the Catholic party. In an edition of 1560, prayers to be used in private and in families were omitted so as to confine the service wholly to the churches, looking toward complete uniformity.

The royal supremacy was revived, though it was strongly opposed by the prelates and by the influence of Rome. On the tender to the clergy of an oath

covering this claim, all the prelates save Kitchen of Llandaff refused to take it, consequently were deprived as were many other clerics, the number being reckoned by different historians at about two hundred out of nine thousand four hundred in England. Those deprived were permitted to remain unmolested in the country, even the infamous Bonner. For the first refusal to take the oath one fell under the penalty of premunire, and of treason for the second refusal. Archbishop Parker obtained the queen's permission for his suffragans to use gentleness in administering the oath, one step toward toleration. Some of the prelates coming to remonstrate with the queen were told by her that if any of her subjects should help the pope's pretensions, she should regard them as enemies of God and the crown. Her relations with the pope became strained for a papal nuncio was refused admission into the kingdom. The pope had prevailed on Mary, the Scot Princess, a niece of Henry Eighth, to assume with her husband, the dauphin of France, the arms of England, owing to the illegitimacy claimed for Elizabeth. Of course this assumption drove Elizabeth to the reformers. In a short time most of the clerics conformed, and most of the laity, at least in the early part of the reign, attended church services.

Many of the reformers who fled oversea during the terror of Mary's reign now returned to bring to England the higher culture obtained those years in contact with the great scholars of the continent. Coming with the advanced ideas of the Reformation, some of these men were to be valuable helpers in revis-



ing the Prayer Book and in other duties, some to be forces of contention and agitation. The religious ferment that was working to free the religious consciousness, preparing England for its vast expansion, for its liberty of thought and worship, and its widespread colonies whose religious privileges were even to surpass those of the mother country, began deepening and intensifying early in Elizabeth's reign. People were reading and thinking as never before. For discussion more liberty was given than in all the past, the early germs of toleration were starting up among the masses and were being protected by the broad-minded Cecil and the other statesmen of that age. The first great step in that toleration, taken unconsciously, was when Elizabeth and her Council at first ordered punishment for heresy to cease.

In London and in other localities the churches were cleaned of crosses and images, these being publicly burned in Smithfield, a harmless avengement for the martyrs' lives offered in that gehenna. With these more spectacular objects went copes, censers, altar cloths, banner staffs and other adornments and also books of doctrine and ritual.

A committee of continental refugees had in Mary's time undertaken a new version of the Bible at Geneva under the supervision of Calvin and Benza. John Knox was among these revisers, he and most of them on Elizabeth's accession leaving the Bible work and returning to England. However, an English scholar, Whittingham, and two others remained at the task in Geneva, issuing the edition known as the

Geneva Bible in 1560. Of course it was quickly scattered over England though not welcomed by the queen or by Archbishop Parker and others. It was the first copy of the Bible to have its chapters, made years before, divided into verses, a help since of inestimable worth to students and teachers of the book. The new version was done with scholarly reference to the original Greek and Hebrew while its notes and leanings were distinctly touched with the system of theology known by Calvin's name, teaching predestination and election. It was printed with Roman type and in both size and price put in easy reach of the people. Calvinistic teachings were already becoming influential in England. Some of these teachings tasted of liberty and that to a Tudor was most bitter. Yet so gladly was this Bible caught up by the people and read that sixty editions came out before the queen's death, and a hundred more before it was finally superseded by the King James' translation. The Bible largely supplied the want of literary craving and the search after truth. The bishops not liking the Geneva Bible, Parker and others projected another one to be done by the prelates or by those in sympathy with them. This was the Bishops' Bible, large and costly. Still in forty years it passed through nineteen editions.

Another book, put forth in 1561, Fox's "Book of Martyrs, or Acts and Monuments," had a profound influence in helping forward the reformers but greatly exasperated the Catholics. Its story of the Marian martyrs doubtless had some extravagant opinions but being mostly a compilation of state

papers of English history as well as testimony of eye witnesses and contemporaries it can be regarded as reliable and was eagerly read by the masses. It showed up the awful spirit of religious intolerance in the bloodthirsty practices of the hierarchy and royalty dominated by papal influences. Grindal, while a Marian exile, greatly aided Fox in making the book. Going through several editions it was ordered to be set in the churches alongside the Bible for the people to read. Horror sent a shudder through the sympathetic people. But Fox, the author, for his ultra reforming views, was neglected in preferments, and when with other clergy of London was required by Archbishop Parker to subscribe to the order of uniformity, he took the Greek Testament out of his pocket and said, "To this I will subscribe."

If a few men were scholarly like the returning exiles, a great number of the clergy, owing to the death of capable ones by the plague, the deprivations of many for nonconformity, had been given parishes though illy prepared in mental training or in religious spirit for their high calling or spiritual labors. Some were profoundly ignorant of the Bible, were grossly immoral, drinking, rioting, gambling, still following the worship of relics and images, favoring pilgrimages, believing in sorcery and witchcraft, and using enchantments. So poor was the service rendered by the clerics that laymen were appointed to read sermons and homilies furnished them. The experiment was not wholly a success, for the people increasing in general knowledge required preachers

of education and of mental force. The universities, denuded of their endowments could not supply half of the demand. Some of the most scholarly preachers, especially those returning from the continent, owing to their Lutheran or Calvinistic principles were denied the places they were fitted to fill.

Within two or three years after Elizabeth's accession, she and her Council deemed there was danger from the discontented Catholics, for these saw the decided trend of the government toward reformation and the evident drifting of the people the same way, making the leading Catholics surly, and arousing hatred against the Queen. It was claimed that plots for her assassination were known. The pope's attitude of hostility toward her with his encouragement of the Scottish Queen's pretensions to the throne of England began to have an influence. A few of the Catholics were arrested and subjected to trial. If they would not use the Prayer Book and would persist in celebrating mass, it was counted not simply heresy but treason, since it was contrary to established law. A few fled the kingdom, becoming on the continent busy malcontents, having learned the lesson well of the Protestant refugees during Mary's reign.

There began taking form in the early years of Elizabeth a movement that has had profoundest influence upon the religious life of the Anglo-Saxon race. At the very start the Queen was urged by some of the Genevan exiles to take radical position in eliminating all traces of popery from the church

service since they deemed these imperfect, useless, and pernicious. Doubtless the great Queen and her statesmen were wiser than these fervent reformers, as the nation so divided in its beliefs would hardly have endured such radicalism and this the government saw. But these reformers were learned, intense and persistent. They became a fretful thorn in the side of the body politic and ecclesiastic. Hooper and Grindal objected to being inducted into office habited in the mystic toggery of the ordinary prelates. The House of Commons had early given expression to a desire for more simple and direct service, and to leave off many of the ceremonies and doctrines which seemed to them to smack of popery. The lower house of Convocation asked for similar reform, such requests being specially significant on the supposition that these houses were in more sympathetic touch with the common people than the upper ones and thus gave voice to the nation at large. With these things the Queen was displeased, considering herself alone the proper person, as the head of the church, to deal with the matters of church polity and doctrine and claiming that her prerogative was encroached upon by such interference. She insisted upon uniformity. In her Council was difference of opinion regarding her attitude upon this question.

The reformers were nicknamed "Puritans," owing to their claim of purity in ceremonies, doctrine and life. Among the reforming clerics and reformers was Thomas Cartwright, a Cambridge professor, who with his great ability argued against the claim

of Christ's descent into hell, and against pluralities, nonresidence of the clergy, and excommunication. He had been an exile in Geneva, was highly educated, of dauntless spirit, well connected, and was able to direct the faction into great efficiency. Pilkington, bishop of Durham, was also in favor of pushing further into reform. Numbers of dissenting clergymen for refusal to conform in garments and in certain rites and doctrines were deprived of their benefices. The new Anglican church was to repudiate Catholicism, but was very determined that the hierarchy and Queen should proceed cautiously. But here the wedge was entering that on the one hand was to separate the Protestant church polity of Great Britain into the Established Church, paying much heed to rites and ceremonies brought along with the Romish practices, and on the other hand, into the Dissenters who claimed that they sought a purer religious life by direct approach and less ritualism to the Heavenly Father. They urged, with reason it would seem, that if a part of the old ceremonies were retained why not retain all. Instead of allowing peaceful evolution the Dissenters grew heated, refused to attend church, held in derision such priests as wore the vestments and followed the order of service sent out by the Queen. In London much neglect of conforming grew up among the clergy, but being put sharply under subscription, most of them conformed save a few strenuous souls. Cambridge University became especially restless under the requirement to wear the habit and conform in other ways, when Cecil expostulated with the

Queen lest the insistence of her orders should cause the colleges to be deserted.

With this active, restless body of Puritan dissidents, the large number of the Catholic party, and with the Established Anglican church, the matters of religion continued the triangular situation of the preceding reign. The English love of rights and liberty illy brooked the repression that Elizabeth insisted upon. When it is remembered that in those times toleration was considered a wrong allowance and that the Queen confounded nonconformity with treason the situation can best be understood. The Catholics who fled oversea carried on their propaganda as pensioners of Spain against Elizabeth in favor of the Scottish queen, who was an ardent papist. The founding of the Douay College in 1568, with others still later, having the openly expressed purpose of teaching missionaries to be sent to England for bringing back that country to the papal control, might well alarm the nation.

With the flush of liberty obtained these years, the Englishmen remaining on the home soil, Puritan and Catholic and Orthodox were loyal to the Queen and her government in spite of her tyranny. England was at school. The pope giving up in despair of bringing Elizabeth, "that vessel of iniquity," to accept Roman supremacy, finally excommunicated her. Those young English Catholics sent from the continent into England as missionaries had papal permission to assume any character they found necessary to cover their proceedings, might pretend to be conformists, Puritans, or become married, since

union with a heretic was void, or they might go under different names or adopt any pretense whatever to guard themselves, to teach the Catholics, hear confession, perform mass. It was said that three hundred were scattered over the island, rarely being betrayed by the people though hotly sought by the Queen's officers. The oaths under which they worked were far reaching, the dangers imminent, their constancy amazing.

As before, the press was a powerful agent in the agitation over these matters. The Bible and controversial books and pamphlets were scattered broadcast. The Puritans, appealing to Parliament, stated their grievances and laid out the plan of church government they wanted. By this plan the hierarchy were to be set aside, the congregations and presbyteries to have a voice in the selection and ordination of ministers, but in the plan there was no room for nonconformity. Continental authors sent their books oversea in great numbers, among these being the "Decado" of Bullinger, to give practical sermons on the leading doctrines of Christianity for the use of the uneducated preachers, also Calvin's Institutes, and similar books. In vain orders of Council, Acts of Parliament, Star Chamber Court rulings, forbade the importation, printing, or selling of books defending nonconformity, but they came without notice, were scattered secretly and were read with observing spirit. One strong book was Bishop Jewel's "Apology," justifying and defending the English church against the Catholics.

It is of peculiar interest that this book written



in Latin was translated into the English by a woman, Lady Anne Bacon, wife of the Lord Keeper and mother of Francis Bacon. This translation the learned lady sent to Bishop Jewel to review with the note written in Greek, but the translation was so well done that the bishop is said not to have changed a word. Many women of the upper classes were at this time highly educated, not indeed in the colleges that were not open to the sex but by private tutors, and earlier in some of the better nunneries. These women were the first fruits and promise of free college education now granted Anglo-Saxon women over the world.

The Puritans insisting on their right to follow the methods of worship to suit their convictions, first began absenting themselves from church services, then neglecting fasts, festivals, and violating Lent, and then came to holding clandestine meetings. Among them their own preachers went stealthily somewhat as the Catholic missionaries went among their people. Very great was the Queen's dislike of the Puritans in their nonconformity. By 1556 their conventicles began to take organized form. After consultation and prayers of both laity and deposed ministers, they decided to break loose from the Established Church and gather privately to worship God according to their wish and consciences. Throwing aside the Anglican liturgy they adopted the German form. They were persistently watched, often arrested, then again spasmodically granted respite and again severely handled. They began forming presbyteries or classes, held synods, but had this

deference to the apostolic succession that they never ordained their own ministers, depending on the prelates of England or on some of the continental divines to whom they went for that rite. So many were deprived or else withdrew under conscientious scruples that numerous churches were left without ministers, causing great discontent, complaint arising especially in London over the neglect of service and the decay of religion. Parker and others did herculean toil to remedy these things but it was impossible wholly to supply the vacant cures. Later Bishop Sandys said in a sermon before the Queen that in the north country there were people who did not hear a sermon once in seven years, he might say, once in seventeen years.

As the controversies deepened the nonconformists took more and more radical positions. They who stuck for toleration of their convictions and ideals purposed on their part to be intensely intolerant in their church government, demanding uniformity to the extent of the magistrate's sword. As if the bloody persecutions so fresh in memory made them beside themselves, some of the dissidents would at times even spit in the face of those in papistical garments and revile them. When Bonner died it was considered unsafe to take his body to burial through the streets in the daytime, so at midnight the cortège of diminutive proportions secretly carried his detested remains to their concealed resting place. The Puritans in 1571 introduced a bill by the hand of Strickland for modifying the liturgy more into conformity to the teaching at Geneva. This ex-

asperated the Queen who ordered the bold statesman to leave the House of Commons and come to it no more, but this arbitrary act being resented by the House, the Queen on comprehending the spirit of that body demanding the restoration of the deleted member, released the doughty champion of rights.

Not only in parliamentary and court circles but also in the hierarchal did the Queen call for enforcement of laws for conformity. The archbishop was crowded beyond his judgment by her to this end, as were many of the other prelates. Two men prominent in college life were found lacking under the rules and were deprived, Sampson, dean of Christ Church, and Humphrey, president of Magdalene. Cambridge became hot over wearing vestments, deans, fellows and others appealing to Cecil so that the court was greatly stirred in the matter. Elizabeth, with her Tudor inheritance, seemed incapable of comprehending the spirit of the English people with the Bible in their hands.

But with all these points of severity England was a country attracting liberty seekers from other lands. John Alasco, the Polish refugee, who with his congregation gathered in Edward's day had been a fugitive in Mary's, now returned to London, cleansing out their former house of worship used during the late reign as an arsenal. Grindal, to have an Anglican cleric over the congregation, was made their superintendent as he was of other returning foreigners, Dutch and French among them. But not all were welcome. Some Dutch Anabaptists,

as well as Arians, in the persistent advocacy of their tenets, were given twenty-four hours to leave the kingdom, but all did not go, some remaining to become a constant source of annoyance to the authorities.

## CHAPTER XXII

Those Catholic prelates deprived in the start of Elizabeth's time for refusing the oath of supremacy were kept in gentle ward, the trial of two of them amounting to nothing decisive. But the pope was tireless in attempts to rescue his beloved England from the grip of the Reformation. Some of the missionaries or secret teachers though claimed by papal authorities to be sent only for religious purposes were tried and executed as traitors, this view of them being the only one taken in England. The Queen issued an order that Catholic parents should not send their children abroad for education, since to do so was to "make them dissidents and often conspirators." Of course the order was evaded. There was continual fretting between the authorities and Catholic missionaries. While the repressive power of the government filled the prisons, the discontent increased. To the Catholics it was persecution only, to the government an attempt to save itself from impending dangers. The secret agents of Elizabeth had learned of the purposes formed between the pope and Spain for that grand attempt later upon the Queen's dominions by the Invincible Armada. The names even of those doomed to death on the conquest were given out.

One cannot help feeling that the deepest, richest religious life of all this period was that developed by the Puritans. Out of their spirit and labors were

to come vastest results to the masses of the nation. They were in best touch with the most progressive part of the people though despised by the Establishment, hated by the Queen, and in fiery antagonism with the Catholics. The court and hierarchy being greatly alarmed, frantic efforts were made to stop their influence. In London their increase was rapid and their power great. Their ablest writer, Cartwright, who had fled oversea, on returning was clapped into prison. His two "Admonitions to Parliament" arguing against the remnants of popery in the Anglican church, and making plea for churches to a new order of church government, and for liberty, were reprinted in many editions, creating a profound impression. Not alone among the lowly did their tenets find favor, for many of the nobility sided with them in the court and out of it. The French refugees also took sides with them. The Bishop of Oxford grew weary of his duties and desired to resign, assigning as one reason that sectaries were increasing rapidly, as also their refusal to conform to surplice, their not conducting services according to Common Prayer and speaking against the hierarchy.

The Puritans justly hated the Star Chamber and High Court Commission in the arbitrary courses of those courts. When the Committee of the Commons waited on the archbishop with a report from the Commission of Thirty-two, ordered for the reformation of ecclesiastical laws, Peter Wentworth, hot Puritan that he was, replied to that prelate, who required the references to be made to him, "No, by

the faith I bear to God, we will pass nothing before we know what it is. For that were but to make you popes. Make you popes who list, for we will make you none."

The Established Church seems to have been hampered by the great Queen as the Puritans and Catholics were persecuted by her. She was urgent, sometimes imperative, to the prelates to insist on uniformity. She learned little if at all that nonconformity was not treason. That it was not heresy she never dreamed. Grindal, succeeding Parker at Canterbury was much more lenient than his predecessor. Indeed in one case, that called "prophesying," Grindal dared the Queen's commands. The Queen directed each bishop to put a stop to prophesying in his own diocese. These prophesyings were really meetings at which clergy and laity gathered where discussion of various things was taken up so that much latitude trending toward freedom of speech was granted. Under her peremptory orders it was mostly stopped, though under protest from clergy and people.

It was the more unfortunate that anything should have hindered a method for improving the ministry. For now in 1582 petitions of the most startling statements came up from the people. From Northampton they said that not one minister was there, from Cornwall that of the one hundred forty incumbents not one could preach, many being pluralists, others nonresidents, and that the ninety thousand people of the diocese were perishing for the bread of life. Sixty churches, the petition ran on, were mostly

supplied with men who were guilty of the grossest sins, they were felons, drunkards, Sunday gamesters, and of unspeakable foulness. After twenty-eight years of the Established Church a report to Parliament showed that there were but two thousand pastors for ten thousand parishes.

Another sect beside the Puritans took form during those times whose lineal descendants hold a prominent place now in the religious life of the Anglo-Saxon race, the Brownists, represented by the Independents or Congregationalists. Their founder, Robert Browne, first imbibing Cartwright's principles, refined upon them, pushing still further toward extremities. As early as 1569 he began putting forth his peculiar views and some later his followers and those of Barrow, renouncing all churches but their own, considered each congregation self-governing and ordained their own ministers. Barrow was hung in London for his heretical teachings. Many fell in with the new sect both of the lowly and of the quality. Two of these people, Elias Thacker and John Coppinger, having been accused of denying the Queen's supremacy, were executed as traitors. The Lord Treasurer said in 1592 that these Brownists had increased to twenty thousand and a bill having been brought forward to banish or kill them, a milder bill, the nation having grown sick of such severity and of so many killings, was substituted. Many of these people were imprisoned for holding conventicles, dying in prison from hunger, filth and contagion.

Before the Independents had entered upon their



self-assertion of religious rights by organized form the Puritans had begun a similar course by organizing presbyteries, bodies almost as democratic as the congregational organizations of the Brownists. The first of these was formed in 1572 at Wandsworth, a suburb of London. Field, Wilcox and other ministers, eleven elders and other laymen met and organized. All over the kingdom this form of church government gradually spread, really being done for self-preservation. From an early time they had strong friends in the court. In response to a remonstrance there came out a court order for less virulence in the enforcement of the laws against the heretics of that period. The fountains of toleration at length began to break forth. If the Queen feared for the state the prelates feared for the Establishment. When in 1583 the tolerant Grindal's death made way for Whitgift as Archbishop of Canterbury, the Queen found one whose determination for uniformity was as strenuous as her own. For inability to meet Whitgift's conditions no less than two hundred thirty-three ministers in six different counties were suspended from their parishes. Many of these men being learned and worthy, were taken up by the gentry as chaplains and teachers for their families so that their influence for good was not wholly lost.

In the meantime the Catholics were untiring in their efforts not to lose all their people and interests in England. Their activity was a constant menace. The rumors of a concerted league against Protestantism were growing into a reality at least in Spain,

where a mighty expedition for the conquest of England was preparing. Persistent plans were known to be ever present for the release of Mary Stuart to seat her on the throne of Elizabeth. Yet while such portentous clouds impended, another section of the Catholics, laying claim to their rights because of their loyalty, prepared a petition to court, saying that the Catholics considered Elizabeth Queen both by law and right, that they deemed it sinful for any one to lift up hand against the Lord's anointed, that was not in the power of the pope to give any one license to do a sinful thing, and added other loyal expressions. But the bearer of the olive branch was arrested and thrown into prison. In some instances those arrested were subjected to torture for eliciting knowledge of their plans and accomplices. The methods of torture when this was resorted to were horrible, and their grim instruments still preserved for the curious sightseer are blood curdling. Not finding the courts, either civil or ecclesiastical, active enough in matters of religious direction the Queen had the two special courts, that of the Star Chamber and the High Commission, in active operation.

The Renaissance, at first touching only a few of the educated, was reaching more people by the printing press, controversy, and general uplift. Increasing wealth fostered by the continued peace of the decades, when farming and stock raising and manufactures and commerce were all enlarging the power of the nation, increased also the spirit of freedom and self-assertion. The larger use of books

was also a power for rights. With the diffusion of knowledge the reading masses would have their rights or remonstrance would grow to revolution. Had the Tudor dynasty continued it probably would have met the fate of the Stuarts. But after all the masses loved their Queen. She was in her progresses about the country, of easy access, affable, and she captivated the common people. When Dobbs, for writing against the French marriage of the Queen, was doomed to have his hand cut off that penned the offensive document, swung his cap in the air with the remaining hand, crying "God save Queen Elizabeth," he was no more loyal than the masses who responded to her call at the approach of the Spanish Armada. The experience which discovery and adventure was giving her seamen, furnished her captains of unrivaled ability and bravery when the struggle of Protestantism and Catholicism was finally brought to the arbitrament of battle.

And the matter took the form mostly of a religious war. The struggle in the Lowlands was definitely to destroy Protestantism, this threat including England. No wonder then that the growing spirit of Protestantism in England sent her swift warships scouring the seas in search of the hated Catholics and their wealth, and that thousands of Englishmen were found fighting among the Dutch against Alva and his Spaniards. The acrimonious squabbling of the sects was mostly forgotten. The pen of the Puritan was laid aside for the bill and sword. Almost all the Catholics joined Anglican and Puritan in a mighty swell of patriotic devotion. A Catholic

nobleman, Lord Howard of Effingham, ably commanded the assembled fleet, nor did Anglican or Puritan captain hesitate to fight under him. What was touching those leaders was touching the whole nation. Peasant and gentry, yeoman and mechanic, merchant and miner, felt the uplift. That uplift was apparent in mental realms, in political, social and religious activities.

But it was an anomaly, not unknown however in history, that as western Europe was thus grasping at means to raise its own life to higher freedom, it should enter upon a system of slavery of the most human atrocity. In the Spanish possessions of the New World the greed of gold had led them to force the fragile natives to work in the mines at deadly toil until the once populous islands and provinces had been left without inhabitants. Under the unaccustomed labor and the biting whip of the drivers, millions had perished. To remedy this decay of native Americans, Africa began to be entered for more hardy slaves, the trader buying captives of the local chiefs, or himself making a foray upon the unoffending village of hapless blacks. For more than two centuries this infamous traffic tore away from their native home millions of Africans, who in the inexpressible horrors of the middle passage suffered beyond conception, the survivors of this horror to be subjected to the remorseless conditions of plantation toil, or of labor in the half remunerative mines in a service the most brutalizing ever known. The curse of this system of African slavery was to rest another century upon the fairest branch of the An-

glo-Saxon race and threaten the existence of that nation through a bloody fratricidal war. Inner glimpses of the people at this time show also an exaggerated hypocrisy and religious bigotry as attendants upon the arbitrary spirit of the Queen. There were cold charity and astonishing dissoluteness, since freedom was often mistaken for license, fears of great dangers sometimes turned out to be bogies, and the nation seemed treading upon volcanic forces that were increasing beneath it. If conformity was conceded, then Sabbath breaking, gambling, drunkenness and other fashionable vices were condoned. The court and prelates were not unaware of these things, reproofs and visitations now and then acting their checks. Books were written urging a better Sabbath observance, and toward the close of the reign the Puritan insistence upon it began to tell in a better observance.

As could be supposed the printing press figured very largely in this transition period. It was characteristic of Elizabeth that she attempted to muzzle the press. As early as 1562 in the Queen's Injunctions she ordered that no books or pamphlets be printed unless six of the Court, or the High Court Commission, or one of the archbishops, or the bishop of London, or some other authority passed upon them. By 1585 three presses only were allowed in the kingdom, one in London, one at Oxford and another at Cambridge. These were so closely under the eyes of the authorities that they could not be used by the restless Puritans, so that they had a movable one of their own which was first set up in

the suburbs of London, fled thence from one place to another, finally being seized in the northern part of the kingdom and destroyed. A book or a ballad or a letter that should stir up sedition would as in the case of felony cause a traitor's death and loss of goods.

During these stirring times a series of documents came out that from their nature and ability and obscure origin have always occasioned much interest, the Martin Marprelate Tracts. These papers, ribald satires, were attacks upon the hierarchy as their name points out. Of course they were written and printed by those in sympathy with ultra reform, the press issuing them being the Puritan one finally captured at the north. Several people taken with the press were subjected to trial and to death.

Finally the heavy blow so long preparing against England as the strongest Protestant power was delivered. The year was 1588. Philip, the widower of one English queen and the rejected suitor of another, stated as one reason of his attack that many Catholics in England favored himself for king and were also favorable to the Catholic faith and it was the part of the most Catholic king to defend that form of religion. Indeed the Armada was a kind of later crusade, a lineal successor of those against the Waldenses and the Bohemians. Those in the Armada and fostering it "considered this sufficient to commend the cause, crusade, and army to the Bishop of Rome and the prayers of the Catholics, to God and the saints." In the great fleet, friars and other religious orders went along to

the number of one hundred eighty, having specially prepared litanies and vast piles of books to distribute, while the vessels were named for the saints and tutelary guardians. To aid the expedition with his spiritual arms the pope issued a more severe bull against Elizabeth, making her accursed, naming her a usurper, depriving her of the crown, and absolving her subjects from their oath of allegiance. When the matchless daring of the English had battered and beaten and burned the gigantic ships of the Spaniards, and the tempest of weeks destroyed the fleeing fragments of the mighty Armada, it is no wonder the English thought their many special prayers, deeds of charity and other marks of piety were divinely answered. The national thanksgiving most heartily undertaken afforded evidences of special providences of Heaven. The army assembled at Tilbury found its patriotic devotion best expressed by the martial psalms of David, to which they loudly gave voice as the militant queen passed on horseback among them. A medal struck off to commemorate the Armada had this legend in Latin: "Jehovah blew and they were scattered."

Protestant England no longer stood in dread of the Catholic powers of Spain. Protestantism now had a successful champion. The apparition of benumbing fear raised by the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, by the assassination of the Prince of Orange and the hideous killings in the Lowlands, was now partly laid by this supreme victory. The destruction of the Armada was a boon to Catholicism as truly as to Protestantism, for its weapons of warfare hence-

forth were no more to be those of war but of less bloody means. With the defeat of the Armada the severities by the Queen and court against the Jesuits increased. About two hundred suffered death in this way ostensibly for treason and the annals of their sufferings would make a book reaching toward a match with Fox's "Book of Martyrs." Into their non-conformity conscience had entered as well as among the Puritans and Separatists, for before this they had said in a petition involving three points, that they shunned the proscribed places of worship through fear of falling into damnable sin, begging for pitiful consideration of their calamities, and third, that no law be made banishing Catholic priests. It was a certain mitigation of their position that some of the refugees refused to join in the attack upon their native country under Philip.

In the last decade of Elizabeth the Established Church appeared mostly to spend its energies in other activities than in developing the religious life. The Queen's spirit grew harsh and peevish, her imperious orders going out to prelates and justices even more savagely than before, so that heretics, Puritan and Catholic, were continually hunted.

At this time when the church life was so depressed, the book which is deemed the most able defense of Anglicanism, Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity," came out. Hooker was a man of great mental attainments, of scholarly tastes, wisely preferring a quiet parish where he could write his book to the stirring duties of cleric preferment tendered him. His answers to the sectaries harassing the Establishment



took a broader course than the usual ones being bandied about. While the Scriptures, he said, are a standard of doctrine, they are not the same regarding laws for the government of the church and commonwealth, which are denominations of the same society. If the Bible does not specify laws for church direction, human laws have right and power. To the Dissenters' claim that too much of the old ceremonies and rites remained he pleaded for as much to be left as possible.

The debt of England and the Anglo-Saxon race to the obscure Puritans of those decades can never be counted. It was seen by a few statesmen of the time and since by many great historians. The formation of presbyteries went on, the Dissenters gathering in the fields and woods and private rooms, spending the whole day in study of the Scriptures and in prayers. Those clandestine gatherings were a source of alarm to the Queen and the book of discipline a bogey. Several of the Dissenters had to seal their devotion to rights and their claims of conscience with their blood. Yet the Queen and most of the Council were marked by outspoken piety.

As the sixteenth century closed and the seventeenth came the passing of the sway of Queen Elizabeth was apparent to herself and to all. To her view even the situation could not have been full of encouragement. If during her reign the nation had forged forward to a foremost place in the world's progress, it had done so partly in spite of Tudor tyranny. If great captains had explored widely and fought bravely, enabling the nation to begin its

domination of a great share of the earth's domain, some of these captains by introducing slavery brought a stain upon the national name which can never be wholly washed away. If a literary fame was earned by her great writers so that the Elizabethan Age is named as one of the three or four literary epochs of all time, there was also a most shocking condition of morals in the court and among the people. If at the very close of her life some cessation of religious controversy gave a rest from persecution, the religious life had made progress in spite only of the hideous holocaust that in torrents of blood sink the reign of Elizabeth to a depth almost as dark as that of the Bloody Mary. No better, purer, more loyal Englishmen lived in those times than many Puritans, Separatists, and Catholics, who were sent to the death by royal fear and prerogative. Though great, Elizabeth was merciless. There was a streak of fervid piety in that same Queen. Crucifix, candles and other paraphernalia of the Catholics were in her private chapel. She composed prayers to be read on special occasions. Her latest words were of a trust in the Savior and confidence in his salvation. As her last moments came and the attendant prelates read prayers, she signed approval when too late to speak.

## CHAPTER XXIII

"The slow moralization of life and society, the enlightenment of conscience and its growing empire, the deepening sense of responsibility for the good order of the world and the wellbeing of man, the gradual putting away of old wrongs and foul diseases and blinding superstitions—these are the great proofs of God in history."

—BORDEN P. BOWNE.

No great change can be seen in the religious life when the Tudor dynasty ended and that of Stuart began. Still dissent put forth strong words for rights in religion as patriotism did in matters of state. To the Dissenters held in such repression by Elizabeth it was a source of hopefulness that James of Scotland grew up in the different political air of that kingdom under noble tutors and had been well instructed in Presbyterianism. Among the delegations meeting the new monarch with welcomes were those from the Established Church and from the Puritans, the latter bearing the Millenary petition, so called for the claim that it bore the signatures of a thousand ministers. This petition asked by its delegation certain modifications of the church ritual, among these to lay aside the cope and surplice, to omit the sign of the cross in baptism, the examination for replies of infants, and to bow at the name of Jesus, and on the other hand asking that communion might be administered with the sermon, that only efficient ministers might be used in the churches and their marriage be permitted, also that non-resi-

dences should cease and the better observance of the Sabbath take place. Further, that the custom of the bishops to hold many places of income by one means and another should be annulled, also that the custom of excommunication for trivial reasons and by low grade ecclesiastics, and the oath *ex officio* should be sparingly used.

To these petitioners James had no kindly feeling since he had been sharply harried by the Scot Presbyteries and came to his additional honors and power with the maxim ingrained, "No priest, no king." Still in deference to the Millenary petition he called the Hampton Court Conference, to which was named a large delegation of church clergy headed by the archbishop of Canterbury, and of the Puritans four of their learned men. James also came. He was pedantic and self-confident. He was credited with saying "that religion was the soul of a kingdom, and unity the life of religion." The first was wisdom, the second so construed in that age as to breed intolerance. The hierarchy at once saw that the king was disposed to bear hard on the Dissenters at the same time that he favored the Establishment. No fair discussion was allowed, nor was fair investigation made of differences between the two parties. The King was peremptory, browbeating, giving judgment by his own word on issues about which the greatest minds of the age were uncertain and divided.

The King, fretted by the conduct of the Scot Presbyterians, declared he feared the Puritans aimed at setting up Presbyterianism "which agrees with monarchy as God with the devil."

He proceeded to an indiscreet assertion before liberty-loving Englishmen, saying, after hearing the points urged by Dissenters, "I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of the kingdom, or else worse." A few changes only were made in the ritual, one not permitting women to baptize new born infants, not confirming children, and others of slight moment. Emboldened by the king's position Bancroft, the archbishop of Canterbury, pressed uniformity to such a tension that scores of ministers were silenced, leaving the parishes vacant while others were cajoled into conformity.

The aid in sustaining the crown which James expected from the Anglicans he also depended on in Scotland. Before he left that country the temporalities of the dioceses which had been transferred to the crown, were in 1606 returned to the bishops who entered the Scot Parliament and voted there. To the attempts of the Presbyterians in assemblies to restore their form of worship the answer was threats, displacements, prisons. Another futile conference at Hampton Court of leaders from the Scot Kirk and of the prelates of that country made no progress toward adjustment, while the Presbyterian members of it were locked up in prison by the king and their associates in Scotland remanded to banishment. As intensely as the English the Scots dreaded popery, having fear that the ceremonies and beliefs of that faith still retained by the episcopacy invited a return of that hateful idolatrous worship. All the people through the universal practice of discussing matters

of faith and conduct were religious partisans, one side or the other. The nation had been in ferment for two generations or more so that with an open Bible and free discussion they had learned somewhat of their rights. Though a Scot James failed to comprehend the persistent traits of his countrymen. The religious life, like forest trees, needs freedom for spontaneous growth. But to carry his purposes for setting up the episcopacy he had the High Commission Court, that iniquitous inquisition, set up in Scotland, which further provoked the Presbyterian party.

The second year after James' succession England was startled by the famous Gunpowder Plot. Owing to the restrictions under which the Catholics lived and worshiped, a little group of their enthusiasts hatched a purpose to destroy at one fell blow the royal family, the Parliament, and others assembled at the opening session of that body, hoping in the confusion and loss to set up a government favorable to their faith. It was a most harebrained project. Still in their enthusiasm they deemed it a holy work, directed from Heaven, and before their most hidden meetings and critical plans they partook of the holy communion. To accomplish their baleful purpose they filled spaces under the Parliament House with gunpowder, selecting Guy Fawkes, one of their number, to apply the match at the opportune time. A warning to a Catholic member of Parliament threw out suspicion, the powder with Fawkes in the mine revealed the plot, the conspirators were discovered and punished with death.

Garnet, a Jesuit, was not indeed raised by papal action into a saint but was beatified, a single step before canonization. The bloody wars on the continent between Protestants and Catholics, the killings, the frightful inquisitions, and the Spanish Armada were held in memory, so it is little wonder that the brave, thoughtful English could not help fearing that they stood upon a throbbing volcano. Of course severe laws were added to those already severe. Some were executed as traitors, many reduced to beggary, and crowds fled oversea. The pope sent a brief commanding against conformity saying that none could join with heretics in religious worship without incurring the displeasure of Almighty God and hazarding their own salvation. As James, however, went seeking a Catholic bride for the Prince Charles, first in Spain and then in France, he winked at the laws against the Catholics which alarmed the people and Parliament.

The noblest monument to the reign of James First was the new translation of the Bible. To all the previous renderings many objections were made, and at the Hampton Court Conference Dr. Reynolds, one of the four Dissenters present, urged a new translation, to which the king heartily assented. A group of fifty-four scholars was appointed to this important work, though but forty-seven were actively engaged in it. This body was divided into five or six committees to each of which was set a part of the Bible to be translated, it being specified that the bishop's Bible of the preceding century should be the basis of the new rendering. In 1611

this noble monument of English scholarship, devotion and labor was printed. Gradually it superseded all other editions. Not only was it of theological interest in those glowing times, to which Dissenters and Churchmen went alike for weapons of controversy, but it was a repository of choice English style, since its simple, direct language was greatly enriched by Greek and Hebrew idioms, making valuable addition to our racial speech. So blended are its style, teachings and reference in all our literature that to have its matter abstracted from that literature would be to impoverish it beyond human calculation.

That active force of contention whether man is under stern force of necessity or has free will was during these decades, a burning question among the people. It was Calvin against Arminius. As the teachings of Arminius were finding a lodging in England King James entered the lists against the great Dutch thinker. To quote some of the King's epithets will give a glimpse of the spirit which the times evoked in theological discussion. Arminius was "an enemy of God," Vorstius, "a wicked atheist," and Bertius, having said that saints might fall from grace, "was worthy of the fire." However, the milder theology of Arminius gradually found its way among thinkers and prelates, partly as a revolt from the extreme harshness of Calvinism. James sent a learned delegation to the Synod of Dort in Holland where the doctrine of Arminius was condemned and he was banished from his professorship.



Most of the religious life of which sight can be obtained was the squabble over uniformity. The learned king was not broad-minded enough to comprehend that dissent did not mean felony or treason, nor was the prelacy touched with divine light enough to see that a nonconformist could be a good Christian brother. So royalty and prelacy united in harrying Dissenters. The ways of royalty and Court, of hierarchy and Dissenters in public, and of the universities, are shown to a sickening extent. The Convocation likewise entered the conflict, decreeing excommunication against such as should deny that the Church of England was a true apostolic church, or say that its ritual services were corrupt, superstitious or unlawful worship, or affirm that the Thirty-one Articles were in any part superstitious or erroneous, or that the hierarchy was repugnant to the worship of God. The same sentence was to rest upon any who should separate from the Established Church to form a new brotherhood.

The discontent became so great under the galling yoke of the king and hierarchy that many Dissenters, both clergy and laity, fled the country, many going to Holland, where was broader civil and religious liberty, others to the colonies. In Holland these refugees set up churches mostly of the Presbyterian model. Also some of the ministers leaving England went as chaplains to the English regiments on the continent. The growing claims to great prerogative put forth by James alarmed many of the people and a special dissent to his course was made by a group of the clergy in Lincolnshire. He

was setting aside the laws, and himself issuing declarations designed to have the force of laws. The nation looked askance upon his kingcraft. Within three years after his accession Parliament began taking steps toward religious enlargement. In 1606 a bill was offered in the Commons remonstrating against the High Commission Court as a menace to liberty. The King personally headed off this bill. Parliament followed Parliament in remonstrances touching one phase or another of religious life. Positions were defended that were contrary to the constitution and the growing religious consciousness.

In the Commons of 1607 a strong speech against the position of the prelates and of the King was made which caused James to call both houses before him, telling them that he did not purpose to govern by absolute power, yet to dispute what a king might do was sedition. Further, claiming he had the power of life and death, he would judge but would not be judged. In spite of all repression the spirit of Christianity and liberty was growing in the nation, for in the Parliament of 1610 not one voice but twenty were raised against the High Commission Court, the papists, pluralities, and non-residences. It was also urged that the silenced Puritan ministers might be licensed for the good of the people. The answer of James to these remonstrances was the dissolution of the Parliament. Though he now determined to govern without a Parliament, the financial distresses compelled him to call another three years later, which, beginning to

show up the grievances, was quickly dissolved by the irate King. The Parliament of 1620 put in claims for justice and rights and for free debate in Parliament, when the enraged James coming to the hall tore out with his own hand the pages containing the obnoxious resolutions; but he did not tear those principles from the hearts of Englishmen.

Claims for more freedom found voice, not alone in Parliament, for the young ministers of the state church and the people at large were discussing matters that troubled the narrow-minded king. On this account he wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury to stop this freedom among his clerics of preaching "unprofitable, unsound, seditious and dangerous doctrine." He would have these young preachers keep to simple teachings they could comprehend and their hearers understand. One of the ministers quoted a sentiment with approval of a continental commentator on the Bible that it might be lawful in some extremities for a subject to resist a ruler. This act caused James to throw the preacher into prison and publicly to burn the ominous book. But it was in vain. England itself sympathized with Bohemia and other continental people struggling for rights and liberty. The only daughter of James, the Princess Elizabeth, was married to Frederick, the ruler of the Rhine Palatinate, both these being heartily in sympathy with the progressive spirit of freedom sought by so many European peoples. They were favorably looked upon by the progressive Dissenters of England, and of them in the next century came the royal line of the Georges.

The spirit of religious enlargement even before the terrible repression of Laud had so many obstacles in its way that there came a temporary decay in the religious life of the nation. If one in any walk in life appeared in earnest, denouncing vice or protecting the Puritans, he was himself denounced as a Puritan. If he read the Bible instead of falling into the vices of the times, if he went to church on Sunday instead of going to the sports on that day, he was scorned as a precisian and a hypocrite. Yet in spite of these and other obstacles the better spirit enlarged by religious ties was steadily working for better things. Men of genius like Bacon, Hales, Sandys, and others were aiding progress by their enlarged views, Parliament was stoutly resisting the King's unjust claims of prerogative, the religious Puritans were coalescing with the political Puritans, the inquiries ordered by the Commons into bribery in the courts reached far enough to touch and purge also the ecclesiastical courts. The house of Lords, having prelates in it, was slower to push ahead either in church betterment or against royal claims.

Several sects which had their initial existence in preceding years took at this time more definite form and greater prominence. They were pleading and writing for some degree of toleration if only for less strictness of the King and of the prelates. Dissent looking toward toleration grew apace. Such patriots as opposed the assumptions of the King were called political Puritans, as those who dissented from the claims of the hierarchy were called religious Puritans. There was a trend in the state church

toward papacy, for the prelates admitted that the Roman church was a true one, the bishop of Rome being the first bishop of Christendom. In his later years James seemed to have leaned heavily toward the Romanist beliefs. Go as the church prelates and court would, the more thoughtful of the common people moved toward Puritanism, and some of the nobility heartily sympathized with that trend. The ablest writers of the period were Puritans. The migration which began peopling America went in quest of more religious freedom and life.

On March 27, 1624, King James died. A fragment of the old paganism, a belief in witchcraft, persisted to this time and after. During the first year of James' reign Parliament passed an act making witchcraft felony. The King studying theology also dipped into demonology, accepted the existence of witches, debating why the devil worked more with aged women than with others. During his reign many old women suffered death under this accusation. Between 1560-1600 it is claimed by good authority that eight thousand people were burned for witchcraft. On one day in 1591 thirty-one were so destroyed. More stringent laws increased the holocaust so that the estimate down to 1680 is of seventy thousand victims. While the Independents had the power under Cromwell, the burning ceased. That this delusion should persist in New England is the more strange, since that country was peopled mostly by highly cultured religious refugees.

Some of the refugees to Holland, finding that their families were likely to be absorbed by the Dutch,

concluded, since they longed to retain English speech and spirit, to seek civil and religious liberty in America. By going there they could be loyal Englishmen, yet worship God according to their religious insight and conscience. Securing permission to settle on some of England's possessions in the New World, though not securing the promise of toleration even there, they determined to go. John Robinson spent a day with them in fasting and prayer as they were ready to embark. To him it appeared that the Established Church would go no farther in reform, nor the Lutherans farther than the words of Luther, nor the Calvinists beyond the teachings of Calvin, progress seeming to have no more promise through these sects. He besought the ones embarking "to be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written word of God," confident that new truths were to shine forth from that book for humanity. It was a fair blossom of Christian truth applied to rights when the little group in the cabin of the *Mayflower* subscribed to the simple declaration "to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the good of the colony; with which we promise all due submission and obedience."

## CHAPTER XXIV

The religious life of England might seem to have fair promise of enlargement when Charles First came to the throne, for he was represented as temperate, chaste, serious. "He is zealous for God's truth, diligently frequents and attentively hearkens to prayers and sermons." Such a marked change in royalty from the iniquities of his father's court must have encouraged the truly pious of the land. But with this fair promise two things soon chilled such encouragement, for he was married to a French Catholic princess, Henrietta Maria, whose influence, brought up as she had been in the atmosphere of absolutism practiced in the French court, was against the parliamentary control of the king, while her strong devotion to the Catholic faith gave alarm to the English. The other thing that alarmed a very large portion of Charles' subjects was his insistence upon uniformity. Abbot, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was tender toward Protestant Dissenters, which so sharply drew the royal displeasure upon him that for a season he was suspended from his official duties.

To the tolerant Abbot in the primacy succeeded the intolerant Laud. To him and his clergy it seemed enough if the regular routine of the liturgy was kept up and the war vigorously pressed against nonconformity. Repress nonconformity as it might, the hierarchy with law and power and royalty at its

command could not wholly force conformity. Stout souls stood out. They saw a trend toward the hateful popery, and for themselves felt that they had an inherent right to worship God according to the light they possessed. Collier is of the opinion that had not the rebellion come on, Laud would no doubt have converted or crushed the Puritan sect and recovered his whole province to conformity. To this pitiable end he seems to have labored to the neglect of proper clerical matters, for in his reports to the king he spoke of poor vicarages, small curateships and churches lying in rubbish. Much dissatisfaction was felt at the way Laud and others were assuming some of the papistical rites and doctrines abandoned in preceding years. Invocation of saints was encouraged, so was auricular confession, merit of good works, doctrine of purgatory and others.

Much dissatisfaction arose at the extreme ritualistic course of Laud and some of his associate prelates. The laws were so uncertain that Parliament determined to reform them. Under Laud, the clergy urged the divine right of the episcopacy, thus making this claim a powerful aid to the supreme assumptions of that dynasty. It is no wonder that a Parliament possessed by a spirit of progress and reform should be aroused when it saw prelates and King pushing by word and act toward extreme arbitrary power. The bill of 1642, excluding the bishops from the House of Lords, emanating in the Commons and signed by the King, was a most natural one when it is remembered that the House of Commons was growing more and more Puritan in its spirit and numbers.



Great statesmen were in that House, far-seeing legislators and hot-hearted patriots. The Civil War has been called the war of the episcopacy, since the insistence of the hierarchy for power and place were fuel fed to the fires of patriotism.

The friction between Parliament and encroaching power represented both by King and prelates had been deepening as the years had passed since the accession of Charles, and now, although the Parliament was composed largely of churchmen, the questions at issue caused an acute situation. Several dissolutions had taken place when the Parliament, meeting in 1640, passed an act that it could be dissolved only by its own action. This was the beginning of the Long Parliament. Probably that body wanted the Liturgy retained, but also wanted to be rid of the bad men in state and church who were leading the King the wrong ways and the nation to apparent ruin. Against the position of the King and hierarchy the Parliament was sustained by petitions pouring in upon it, one of fifteen thousand names from the people of London, and another of seven hundred ministers protesting against the ceremonies of the church.

In the progress of events, Laud became so obnoxious to Parliament that the Commons sent to the House of Lords a bill of impeachment for high treason. The Scots said he was linked in treasonable matters with Strafford, Lord Deputy of Ireland, who was already in the Tower, where Laud was now placed. Charles tried a conciliatory course, admitting that the prelates had overstrained authority, to

correct which he would join with the Parliament. Parliament purposed extreme measures, one being to cut off all the revenues of the Establishment by suppressing the deaneries and chapters.

In an unwilling way the King acceded to some of the stern demands of Parliament, allowing a priest now and then to be put to death, ordering the courts to enforce the penal laws against priests and Jesuits, and offering a hundred pounds' reward for the arrest of a Doctor Smith, the Catholic bishop. As the contest deepened between Charles and his Parliament, he was more inclined toward his Catholic subjects who gave him assurance of sustaining him in return for some toleration. Thus, the Catholics of Ireland are said to have offered him, if some toleration was granted them, an army of five hundred horsemen and five thousand footmen. He had made one Catholic Lord High Treasurer, one Secretary of State, another Chancellor of the Exchequer, while many of their nobles attended his court. He also gave places in the army to them, and in the Civil War they proved some of his most loyal supporters.

Dissent became more and more assertive. The preachers of rights and freedom called lecturers multiplied in various parts of the country. Often these men were aided and protected by the gentry. Prominent families would use them as tutors in their households to cover their more public work. Great crowds attended these lectures showing the soul hunger of the people. But prelatical zeal followed them sharply being desperate especially if these lecturers

or men in livings preached against Rome or Arminius.

A spirit was arising called Erastianism, named after Erastus, a continental writer, who claimed that in a commonwealth when the magistrate professed Christianity, offenses against morality and religion should not be punished by the church powers, especially by excommunication. At this time in the Commons the lawyers particularly, led by the profound Selden, were mostly Erastians, believing no church government to be of divine right but of human conditions.

So much were ceremonies insisted on that the position at the communion table aroused much hard feeling. To meet the growing spirit of democracy it had been put in the middle of the church so that the people could surround it, but Laud insisted that it must be put at the east end of the raised chancel where the altar had stood in preceding times and be fenced in with a rail.

In the neighboring kingdom of Scotland, the hot-blooded Celts could illy endure the impositions laid upon them by the Established Church and the galling deeds of the Star Chamber. As their pet Calvinism was proscribed and the communion table set in the place of the old-time altar, as well as the insistence for the Book of Prayer, the growing aversion of the people burst out into mob violence. On the Sunday when the order was to read the service book in all the Edinburgh churches, a mob of men and women of the low classes broke out into personal violence against the clerics, the dean and bishop, and the

small stools used to sit on were thrown at the priest's head. The Scot Council did not haste to punish the rioters of Edinburgh and elsewhere, the assuring words of the King did not allay the excitement, while his purpose to send an army and fleet against the rebellious city hurried matters toward a revolution.

Finally, in 1638, petitions to the Council being in vain, the Scots took matters into their own hands and drew up the famous Solemn League and Covenant. They charged the bishops with betraying their religion, urged that the lecturing preachers be restored to the places from which they had been driven, and petitioned relief from the liturgy and canons. Charles, in response to these things, put in an excuse for setting the hierarchy over them, and at the same time threatened the turbulent. This attitude of the King convinced the Scots that the remedy must be sought among themselves, so they proceeded to form a government of their own consisting of four orders, nobles, barons, burgesses, and ministers. The Covenant, an epochal document, was signed by them, binding them to maintain the religion as then professed, to preserve his majesty's person and to defend themselves against all persons whomsoever. The Book of Prayer was renounced as were the governing canons, the High Commission Court and the Six Articles of Perth, while they called upon God to witness their loyalty since they took these positions only in defense of the rights of conscience. They boldly claimed the right to frame their own religious polity.

So democratic was the plan of the kirk that the

assembly by election was composed of men of all ranks, and in this body, partly judicial in its powers, nobles for immoral crimes might be judged by peasants. In the freedom of the pulpit they led all Europe. Of the commissioner sent by Charles to arrange matters, the Scots demanded the establishment of a Parliament and church assembly, declaring they would sooner renounce their baptism than their Covenant. Failing in these demands they flew to arms, blockading the King's troops in the castles of Edinburgh and Sterling. Charles temporized. He could not permit such bold repudiation of royal authority. Offer as he might to grant an assembly and Parliament on condition that the hierarchy be recognized and all disturbances cease, it was not satisfactory. The assembly the Scots elected commanded the prelates to appear before it, charging them with "heresy, simony, perjury, incest, adultery, fornication and breach of the Sabbath." The bishops were deposed and also such ministers as did not accept the Covenant. Sustaining an agent in London they kept in touch with the nonconformists of England.

In Ireland, religious affairs were as unsettled as in Scotland. The Irish were hot-hearted Catholics, the efforts to win them to Protestantism up to this time having been in vain. The King soon attempted to remedy the imperfections of the Established Church, since under the dissolution of the monasteries and by other dissolutions, its efficiency had been greatly lessened. The Catholics thinking that the new King leaned toward their faith, or would wink at their

illegal purposes to establish their worship and work, set up some religious houses in Dublin, the friars appearing in the streets in their peculiar attire and affronting the mayor and archbishop. By order of Charles the obnoxious home of these friars was demolished and their houses in Dublin changed into Houses of Correction, though some toleration of them was permitted. But in almost all the country the vastly more numerous population kept up its own form of worship. In spite of the King's efforts to remedy the evils, reports from the archbishop to him showed a most lamentable condition, for in Dublin the churches were used for stables, dwelling houses treated no better, while the vaults of Christ Church itself were made into tippling rooms by the Catholic renters, where wine, beer, and tobacco were sold at the same time that religious services were going on above.

Wentworth, the Lord Deputy, tried to second the King in his efforts to make things better, but did it in a way to alienate the Irish still further.

Matters goading the Irish to desperation, in October, 1641, they broke out into a rebellion, in which the ferocious spirit of that partly civilized people found no limit. The avowed purpose was to blot out the hated English from the island. To this end, murders, ravaging, outraging females, burning property, whippings, "in cause of loyalty and religion," went on until Protestants were killed by the ten thousand with unspeakable barbarity, driven to the bogs to die of hunger and exposure and harried by all the means that such an enraged horde could

invent. The hatred was both religious and racial. The whole number murdered in this awful massacre is put by some historians as high as two hundred thousand but this is doubtless an exaggeration, though it is certain that the victims were numbered by the scores of thousands. As the war between King and Parliament in England came on, Charles sympathetically directed Ormond, commanding in Ireland, to conclude a peace advantageous to the natives, when it was ordered that the Catholics should be discharged from taking the oath of supremacy, giving them the freedom of their religious ritual, a ministry of their own, schools for their children with attainders and outlawries made void, and a decree of oblivion given out. To ensure these favors they were to hold possession of the forts and cities already occupied by them.

The people were aroused and alive to the progress of matters, sending petitions for the Established Church and against it.

## CHAPTER XXV

The Parliament to replace the Convocation and to organize the revised church to take the place of the Anglican hierarchy now practically abolished, planned the famous Westminster Assembly. It was composed of the delegates from each county to the number of about one hundred fifty of both divines and laymen nominated by the Knights of the shires. This was to be a national synod and met in 1643. Its members were prelates, Presbyterians, Independents, and members of Parliament, to whom later were added Scot commissioners.

But the preponderance of members was Presbyterian, who plainly aimed to throw aside the episcopacy and govern the religion of England by assemblies, synods and Presbyterian rules. Of course to this plan there were many objections. The Anglicans could not without a struggle see their elaborate system overthrown, and finding the current too strong against them that party withdrew. The Independents pleaded for a toleration which would allow some scope in church organization and government as well as for the ordination of their ministers, but such latitude was not the purpose of the Presbyterian element. That element insisted on uniformity but the growing spirit of freedom manifested most strongly in the Assembly by the Independents urged, that not uniformity, but toleration of different shades of belief and forms of church government best



met human needs. In despair the Independents declared by one of their champions, Burroughs, that if their congregations could not have liberty they resolved to suffer or to migrate to some other place in the world where they could find liberty.

The eyes of the Westminster Assembly were turned for help toward Scotland like those of the Parliament. Some Scot commissioners were added to the Assembly, of course holding in their hand the Solemn League and Covenant. This would be England's panacea. After some changes of this great document by the English Assembly it was adopted for the church government and faith of the three kingdoms. The Covenant, holding as it did then for the glory of God, the advancement of Christ's kingdom, the honor and happiness of the King, the public peace, liberty and safety of the Kingdom, the rights and privileges of Parliament, for the extermination of popery and prelacy, superstition, heresy, profaneness, schism and whatever was contrary to sound doctrine, stood as the Magna Carta of the religious life. Its rich fruits are blessing the world to-day. On its adoption by the Assembly, the Parliament, in September, 1643, came in a body to St. Margaret's Church and with uplifted hands swore to uphold its provisions.

A heart throb of mingled despair and joy was felt in all this high purpose. The protest against this Presbyterian dominance was deep. The tolerance urged by some of the most advanced spirits had not been accorded. England, though freed from prelacy, was bound with presbytery. Those advancing

spirits could not consent to this condition. Presbytery was about as stoutly insisting on uniformity as had prelacy. The yoke was too heavy. Conformity was not a necessity. Dissent was not treason or sedition. Selden, Milton, and a host of lesser men wrote, spoke, preached their objections. Many withdrew from the Assembly, its sessions, held for about six years, amounting to above eleven hundred meetings, hardly ever had more than about half of its original numbers. The fire of its spirit gradually burned out and leaving as its products the modified Covenant, the Lesser and the Greater Catechism, it fell into senility and passed from men's sight.

Parliament vigorously took up the matter of church reform since church and state then were never thought as being other than an inseparable unity. Some of its radical acts ordered the removal from the churches and open places and their destruction all monuments deemed of superstition and idolatry, such as the representations of angels and saints, crucifixes and holy water fonts, nor must be used any surplice, copes or other superstitious vestments, while the Sabbath was to be strictly observed, and to give force to this last, the King's Book of Sports for Sunday amusement was to be called in and publicly burned. Later it was ordered that saints' days, even Christmas, Whitsuntide and Easter, should be given up and other festivals "commonly called holy days," substituting in place of them every other Tuesday as a day of recreation. It was ordered also that the Book of Common Prayer be thrown aside, and the Directory, a liturgy prepared by the Westminster Assembly, be

published in its place. It was a hearty, bold attempt to crowd religion forward by law, and failed of course. They did not see then that religion must be a growth in human lives, a direction of judgment, conscience and free will.

One passage in the history of the Long Parliament which has attracted much attention was its treatment of Archbishop Laud. After three years of imprisonment in the Tower he was brought to trial. His leaning toward popery and disregard of legal ways joined with his imperious claims of deference, almost papal, could not fail of arousing bitter hatred among honest Englishmen.

It is hard at this distance to understand the heat of the Puritan element against Laud unless we see with Macaulay that "of all the prelates of the Anglican Church, Laud had departed farthest from the principles of the Reformation, and had drawn nearest to Rome. . . . Under his direction every corner of the realm was subjected to a constant and minute inspection. Every little congregation of Separatists was tracked out and broken up. Even the devotion of private families could not escape the vigilance of his spies." As the House of Lords hesitated to take action in the case, the Commons changed the accusation from treason to attainder. The accusation finally took a three-fold form: first his efforts to subvert the laws, second to overthrow the Protestant religion, and third to overthrow the rights of Parliament. The remarkable prelate was sentenced. "His great age and feebleness, his influence already lost in the three years of his imprison-

ment might have moved a Puritan Parliament to let him end his days in harmless living."

Passions ran high in those turbulent times. Petitions came up to Parliament to clean out the hierarchy root and branch, as they expressed it, so this phrase became a popular catch-word with the Puritan party. Names marking great leaders began to appear, as Pym, Sir Harry Vane, Hampden and others. This turbulence must certainly have had the effect to produce great leaders. The modified church organization projected by the Assembly and Parliament proposed to have the congregations elect laymen as ruling elders, unsettled questions in any church were to be referred to a group of triers beyond them, thence if still unsettled to a classis, thence appeal could be made to a provincial assembly, and from that to the national synod. All these bodies were subject to Parliament, since Erastian principles held sway in that body. To give the laity more voice in church management was a valuable step forward in religious life.

As might be foreseen, the Universities created and sustained by the Church would side with that and the King against Parliamentary action. Oxford turned over its massive silver plate to the King for money to sustain his army, many of the students and lesser teachers enlisted under his banner, while Cambridge, though occupied by a Parliamentary army, persisted in the same spirit. While thus occupied it was decided to present the League and Covenant to the Presidents and Fellows of the various colleges for signing and to eject such as did not sign. Almost

a complete change was necessary, but strong, educated men were on hand to take the vacant places so that no serious lapse in scholarship took place, and many who were students at this period became the great men later. As the Parliamentary forces came into control of Oxford, which had been much injured by the King's occupancy as headquarters, similar steps as those at Cambridge were taken to place the University in sympathy with the Puritan movement.

The sects shooting up in the prolific times before had now better chance of growth. The Puritan had become a Presbyterian and rapidly rose to power. This Puritan element was largely composed of the middle classes, the small sturdy farmer, mechanic, tradesman, the progressive, thinking part of the nation, a few of the nobility being associated with them but holding no commanding place. The rabble followed the Cavaliers. Each of the two parties had distinguishing marks. The speech, expression of the face, clothing, demeanor, all marked the Puritan. Their hair was cut short, bringing on them the epithet of Roundheads, while the nobility and courtiers allowed their hair to grow long and loose. In Parliament the Presbyterians had steadily risen in number and power. The stout Long Parliament was dominated largely by their spirit and weight. Struggle as they might the Anglicans had to bow to the Presbyterians. Not all the decisions of the Assembly were approved by Parliament. Really the Presbyterians aimed not at liberty but at power. Calvinism predominated in Parliament as in Assembly. The two catechisms put forth, the larger as a

body of divinity for the ministers, the shorter for children and lighter use, have guided the teaching of this denomination to the present. Holding control in Parliament they passed ordinances with the penalty of death upon those denying the existence of God, the Trinity, the divinity of Christ, the truth of the Bible, the resurrection of the Lord or of salvation in Christ. To prison must all go permanently who believed such lesser errors as that all could be saved, that souls go to purgatory, that the baptism of infants was unlawful or void. The "Power of the Keys" or of excommunication, they claimed abode by divine appointment in the eldership or presbytery so that these could suspend from communion and exclude from the church. London and other parts were aroused to a fierce heat. Preachers harangued the people, impelling them in crowds to the Parliament doors, while theological matters were discussed in business houses, in the coffee rooms, on the streets, at the fireside. Physicians dealt out theological issues with their pills and nostrums. In the lower schools and in the Universities color was given all teachings by the religious questions. England and Scotland became a great theological seminary. As the bishops refused to ordain those of the parliamentary party a large committee on recommendation of the Assembly was appointed by Parliament, any seven of whom could ordain men, since they believed that bishops and presbyters were of the same order and that church government by presbyters was of divine origin. Milton said in his protest to the Presbyterian Model, that "New Presbyter was but old priest writ

large." Much confusion in church services existed. The Anglican service was not wholly suppressed, nor that of the Independents, nor Baptists, nor papists.

The Independents were led by most able men, Goodwin, Nye, Bridges, Burroughs, men who, in the persecutions at home and in the wider opportunities of the continent, had learned some of the fundamental principles of toleration. Going to the Bible for their authority the Independents in common with all the factions found in it the guide of their polity. To them the congregation of organized worshippers was the only authority in church government, since they recognized no synod, assembly or convocation. Cromwell and many officers of his magnificent army became Independents, the spirit of the army being largely shaped by them, though the Ironsides were composed of devout men from every shade of faith. When this faction was in control of the government, practical toleration existed toward all religionists, though looking askance toward Catholics and Episcopalians, all penal laws for religious reasons were repealed, thus leading in these Christian steps not only all the sects in England but all the peoples of Europe. Their service consisted of Scripture reading and exposition, prayer, preaching, baptism, communion, psalms sung, collections for the poor. They had pastors, teachers, ruling elders and deacons, ruling by admonition, their excommunication being only exclusion from the communion. The Independent faction, in power in the army and Parliament, directed the arrest of King Charles and pressed the

steps leading to his confinement, trial and execution.

By this time, 1645, the Baptists had so increased as to have fifty congregations in London. Their church government was properly congregational, their confession of faith Calvinistic, they were in favor of toleration, admitted lay preachers, and would baptize only grown people. They were especially successful among the lower, more ignorant classes, though people of learning and parts joined them. As in the case of all sectaries these were shamefully persecuted, mobs broke up their meetings, and threw their preachers into the rivers and ponds. A learned churchman proposed to demolish the sect with a book bearing this peculiar title, "The Dippers Dipt, or the Anabaptists Duckt, and plunged over Head and Ears." Through such chinks of spirit and language come glints of information about that age.

Many indications show the activity of mind in that period. What is now known as Unitarianism began to cut a figure. Complaints were made that the divinity of Christ and of the Holy Spirit was frequently in public called in question. One canon from the Convocation of 1640 was that no one should import Unitarian books, or print or dispose of them under penalty of a call before the implacable Star Chamber. But men in London were preaching ere long openly that Jesus was a prophet indeed who could work miracles but was not God. Like the Independents and Baptists they were in favor of toleration. A preacher, one Best, on being accused of denying the Trinity, was condemned to death by the Commons, but on being visited by some divines to hear



his exact confession of faith, he was discharged as not being very ultra.

If, in a general way the religious life of England at that time should be divided into two factions, the one of ritualists, the other non-ritualists, there was still a small intermediate party designated as Latitudinarians. Names remembered in the field of ethics and philosophy were in that party, Chillingworth, Lord Falkland, Hobbes, Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Chillingworth, who had accepted Catholicism and then passed back again to the Episcopal church, used his great intellect in favor of the earlier tenets of the Reformation, the independency of private opinion, claiming also that the errors of conscientious men do not forfeit the favor of God. Lord Falkland, learned, brilliant, a leader in society, the foremost among the liberal thinkers of the day, had a most passionate longing for liberty of religious thought. Hobbes, when he entered the field of religious discussion, deemed the state supreme in religious matters, that the commonwealth should determine the form in religious matters, insisted on conformity to which no resistance should be made and claimed that dogmas should be the fewest, simplest possible. Lord Herbert of Cherbury was the founder of English Deism, who thought that the essential principles of religion were attainable through innate notions. His creed would have five sections: "First, that there is a supreme being; second, that this being ought to be worshiped; third, that virtue combined with piety is the chief part of divine worship; fourth, that men should repent of their sins and turn from them; fifth, that

rewards and punishments follow from the justice and goodness of God both in this life and after it." This group of men had much to do in teaching toleration to the nation.

Allied it might seem to these Latitudinarian views were the opinions of a faction that took reason, they said, as their guide, repudiating compulsory service in religion and royalty in politics. Their democratic teachings found a quick lodgment in the Parliamentary army, for this asked equality, voluntary service in war, enlargement of franchise, and freedom of conscience. These were the Levelers. Many officers and privates fell in with their ideas, becoming bitter against the king and demanding a Commonwealth. These things troubled Cromwell and other leaders since such demands were too advanced for the England of that period. But the army had begun to show the democratic spirit in a manner not to be slighted. Goaded to intensity by the King's duplicity, and by the Presbyterian Parliament, the army sent an urgent petition to that body that they wanted liberty of conscience and the arrears of their pay, saying that as volunteers they had in the civil war been fighting for the liberties of the nation and were determined to have them. Angry with these petitioners Parliament would have thrown them into the Tower, but thought better of it when the general came before them with similar demands. The Parliament ordered the army to be disbanded. Cromwell, deemed by them the leading spirit, they tried to arrest, but he escaped from the city to the army. Then the army seized the captive king, marched toward

London, demanding of the frightened Parliament and the city the rights of conscience, liberty, and encouragement. Between the city that objected to these demands and the imperious army, Parliament stood in a difficult position. Again, after some delay and conferences the army came into London, bringing those fugitive members of Parliament expelled for sympathy with the demands of the army, purged the Commons of the malcontents and set up the party with them as the real Parliament. This fragment was the famous Rump Parliament. The army now invested with authority proposed that all civil power be taken from the bishops, the Book of Common Prayer be given up, the League and Covenant not to be enforced, a mighty stride toward toleration. But this advanced position England in general was not yet prepared to adopt. Suffering generations must pass before their full acceptance.

## CHAPTER XXVI

At the beginning of the Civil War the regiments sent against Charles by the Parliament were poorly prepared either in their character or drill to meet the spirited Cavaliers of the King. Cromwell complained that they were poor tapsters and serving men out of a place. With his profound military insight, seeing this lack while yet a colonel, he determined to form his regiment in such a manner as to meet the enemy on even ground. Into his regiment of a thousand men he would enlist only freeholders or their sons, men fearing God, professing godliness, and who would deem it a duty to execute justice upon their enemies. Having such men to start with who divided their time in camp between military duties and prayer and singing psalms, and who charged upon their enemies calling upon God while slaying them, Cromwell could not fail of success, and his men doubly clad in cuirasses and religious fervor could well be dubbed Ironsides. Religious enthusiasm was successfully pitted against blue blood and personal bravery. With this new model the army greatly differed from the royal army. Give orders against excesses as he might and inflict punishment as he did against plundering, Charles could not keep his needy soldiers from robbing and devastating the country in which they were operating. In addition to its higher religious spirit the Parliamentary army was better paid than the Royalists, since great rich London was

financially with the Parliament as well as religiously. With all the hot partisanship the Parliamentary army was kept well in hand. Fairfax was gentle-hearted and Cromwell was a remorseless disciplinarian. When at Truro Fairfax captured six thousand prisoners, he sent them to their homes, giving to each man twenty shillings to pay his way, nor would he permit the poor fellows to be insulted. On the other hand, Montrose, at Kilsyth, taking that number of Covenanters put them to the sword to be met with reprisals when the Covenanters captured Royalists.

What few Presbyterian ministers could be induced to leave their cosy parishes and act as chaplains in the Parliamentary regiments were pious aids in deepening the religious fervor of the Ironsides. Little impiety or disorder took place, no swearing or drinking being allowed. Still Cromwell and other leaders taught that in certain great exigencies men called to be the leaders were released by that call from the common rules of morality so that they were at liberty to deceive and to prevaricate. This and other delusions had come down to that time as the fateful legacies of a darker past. An imperfect growth of moral grandeur made possible the Ironsides and the Commonwealth. If Puritan austerity lessened the joy and lightness of preceding years there was a gain in manners, in manhood and womanhood. This was especially to be seen in the home life, Green saying: "Home, as we conceive it was a creation of the Puritans." Wife and children had come into social and religious consideration like the husband.

There was need and room for improvement in the

spirit and manners of the people. The merciless punishments inflicted, the brutal mob violence, the horrors of the prisons, the bloodthirsty Jeffreys at the Great Assize, and the judicial severity of lower legal sinners, the massacres of prisoners of war, the sympathy for these brutalities frequently shown by the clergy high in culture and position now shock the reader, grown gentler, let us hope, through centuries of civilization and Christian teaching. People were thrust into the crowded places of the prisons where sick and dying were subjected to brutalities that were unspeakable with a century and a half to pass before Howard would obtain some mitigation of their horrors. As the Irish aiding Charles against Parliament were captured in England no quarters were granted them, the sailors being tied back to back and thrown into the sea. But their atrocities upon the harmless inhabitants of England had been of the most damnable character.

As in preceding times the extreme coarseness of sports was most shocking. Bear baiting, when one of those poor captive animals was chained loosely to a post and then great dogs let loose upon him, was most popular, for crowds of people seated around the pit would applaud each poor brute in turn. In these and kindred brutalities the scenes on a small scale of the old Roman circus were renewed, and it was against such things and their debasing powers that for one thing Puritanism put in its protest of influence and law.

Along such displays of a brutal spirit a better one was growing up, humane, prayerful, rising. The

Parliamentaries whose watchwords were "Law, Religion, Liberty," were certain that they were doing God's work, common soldiers and others were discussing matters of high moral import while fighting the country's battles, and Parliament itself was freely giving money to relieve those oppressed by sieges and devastations, believing that it conducted a struggle for pure religion, piety and the glory of God. That body, as the King's efforts to introduce foreign soldiers to help him were thwarted, saw the hand of God in aiding them to defeat those plans. Milton, who was "church-outed by the prelates," retiring to his verse and study, deemed the vocation of England was to show other peoples how to subdue avarice and ambition and submit to the loss of riches. As a meeting of the principal officers of the army was held at Windsor Castle to consider the issues before them, they spent one whole day in prayer and conference, Cromwell exhorting them to consider fully their actions and ways as private Christians. Nor was the King slow in his appeals and protestations to the people in claiming the righteousness of his cause, not wholly it can be hoped as a foil to the devoutness of the other party but as a need in the dimness of the royal vision. The Cavaliers saw the nation's best interests and their own in royalty, the Parliamentarians, in civil liberty. Neither party were fanatics but patriots. Women also aided in raising means to carry on the struggle, those in London from the lowly ranks offering to Parliament the little they had to give, silver thimbles, bodkins, spoons. Nor was the King without those women who freely gave their hus-

bands and sons to fight his battles and their wealth to sustain his cause. Woman's ministries to the wounded and suffering were constantly put forth without reference to which side the suffering belonged, thus antedating by two hundred years Florence Nightingale and the Red Cross. The soldiers of the Parliamentary army, on their return to civil life, were noted for their correct and industrious lives, Cromwell declaring that those who pray and preach best fight best.

From the start the differences between Charles First and his Parliament hinged upon matters of both state and church. The deepening antagonism that was to lead the civil war was manifest in those earlier Parliaments of Charles which he had peremptorily dissolved. Once the Long Parliament had declared itself safe from dissolution, the antagonism went forward to disruption with rapid steps. Laud for a while after being sent to the Tower filled church places with those devoted to the Establishment, and on remonstrance of the Parliament, the King ordered him to appoint only such as he should nominate, or if the Parliament objected, to leave the place vacant, thus letting the income lapse to the crown. Parliament threw itself into the path of both king and prelate by ordering that the archbishop, before his trial should not fill any benefice but with the approval of both Houses.

The final disruption coming when the King in person went to the House of Commons to arrest Pym and Hampden with the remainder of the famous Five, it was on an assertion of rights that Parliament and



the nation stood. The hand of Charles was violating the earlier law of rights. Even then Parliament was loyal. It appealed to God's all-seeing eye for its sincerity of purpose to preserve the King and public peace. It placed itself in the line of encouraging piety, praying that God would protect the fleeing King. So much was the church involved in the national weal that the civil war has been called the War of the Episcopacy. With the fear which Parliament had of the hierarchy was coupled the dread of popery and of Arminianism. It was a strange medley. Calvinism pushed hard against Arminianism, fear against the papists, patriotism against despotism, toleration against hierarchy. Parliament had offered to conclude peace on condition that the King should accept the League and Covenant also abolishing the hierarchy, confirm the Westminster Assembly and a settlement of religion as Parliament should agree. Further he was to abjure the papists, compel their children to be educated in Protestant schools, insist on a better observance of the Sabbath and better preaching, and abolish pluralities and non-residence. This was much more than the headstrong and distracted Charles could concede.

When all efforts at settlement failed and Parliament took the trial of the King in hand, the claim was put forth that he was guilty of the bloodshed in the civil war, a rough justice assumed by the Parliament in place of that reference to the Judgment Day often deemed best in momentous issues. As his execution approached he showed a devout reliance upon the Heavenly Father being wisely and piously aided by

Joxon, Bishop of London. His last hours were spent in quiet devotion.

The execution of Charles First in 1649 has sent its fertile causes of discussion and dissension down through the history of England. Roughly divided into parties these have always been distinguished by the religious issues of the times, conservative or liberal, narrow or broad. A people with religious life so deeply inherent would surely carry its faith into politics, into home life, into business life, everywhere. In a country, too, of monarchical principles reaching back hundreds of years there would necessarily be a blending of royalty and faith. Hence sympathy for the suffering, a prominent trait in the Anglo-Saxon spirit, was aroused as the King, attacked, driven from the throne and imprisoned, was tried and beheaded.

As Charles passed, the nation, yet unable to comprehend government by a Parliament alone, must find another ruler and one stood forth, a gigantic figure in man's activities. Oliver Cromwell, partly a product of his era and partly making that great era, had already before the King's death risen to portentous proportions. He had already shown his great genius for organization in the renewed world and in the Ironsides, his generalship on many battlefields and his administrative abilities amidst the conflicting elements of the times. He was the guiding spirit of the insistent, thinking, victorious army. He took position among the faction of Independents.

Standing in this position he was in opposition to many things the Presbyterians wanted in Parliament and elsewhere. Presbyterianism was now the Estab-

lished Church. Puritanism was mostly passing into Presbyterianism, for the Puritan movement was split into many forms of belief and practice so that the Presbyterians only held a leading place among many factions. The House of Commons had been dominated by them and the Upper House gave them many sympathizers. The associations of ministers for mutual improvement persisted about the country in spite of the opposition to them by the authorities causing more liberal views. Not only so among the ministers, but a softer spirit was surely awakening among the people at large, dawning as it did upon them that the surpliced Anglican might have beneath his rich vestments a high purpose to bring forward the kingdom of God, that the austere Puritan could have a glowing heart under his somber garments, that the pushing Independents would not bring down the whole fabric of religion in hopeless fragments to the ground, that the Baptists even through deep waters were leading men to a higher life, and it was barely possible that under the despised mummary of papist ceremonies, some of these people were pious and exalted in their lives.

In Scotland, the Presbyterians, after their brethren in England had been crowded from Parliament and their cause thrust into the background before the aggressive Independents, were ready to take up arms in behalf of the Stuart dynasty. But they compelled the young Charles as he came among them to make war upon the Commonwealth, to sign the Covenant, listen to their long sermons and give up his excesses much to his disgust. The dispersal of his

forces at the Worcester fight blasted their hopes and ruined their plans. Still the labors of the Presbyterian ministers were valuable in both kingdoms, visiting their parishioners, teaching and catechizing the children, thus helping knowledge and a better civilization.

Another sect exerting a deep influence in religious matters, the Quakers, arose in those prolific times. Like the adherents of so many great religious movements the Quakers point to a certain man as their originator and leader, George Fox. He felt called by the spirit of God to separate himself from the people, so retiring to the fields and woods, brooding over the religious life, and taking the Bible as his only book, he set up as a religious teacher in 1647 about Duckinfield and Manchester, preaching that "people should receive the inward divine teachings of the Lord and take that for their rule." He formed a notion to address the people with the pronoun thou and thee, would not remove his hat to any one, nor bow the knee to magistrates, nor call any man on earth master, nor use oaths. Insisting on these things he soon became troublesome to ministers and congregations, interrupting church services, and claiming that the Bible was superseded by the direct communication of the Spirit. He and his followers would speak in public only when moved to do so by the Spirit when they would defy laws, sentiments and orderly manners by their peremptory rebukes and warnings at all times and in all places. Fox and his converts were mobbed, put into jail and otherwise punished, only when freed, to take up their

excesses again, praying for their persecutors, and some of them in their fanatic spirit even running naked through the streets and into the churches. From some use of this word in the Scriptures they called themselves Friends, but by the rabble were dubbed Quakers, presumably for shaking in person when delivering their heated messages. In spite of their extravagances they increased, formed congregations, built meeting houses without steeples, pleaded for toleration, set their women to preaching, and great numbers became exemplary in conduct and piety. The mob violence and persecutions were appalling yet they received the abuse and suffering in the spirit ascribed to the Savior as sheep dumb before their shearers. By 1654 Fox had organized a company of sixty traveling preachers, by the end of the century there were sixty thousand Quakers in England, but the rapid progress of the sect diminished after the death of their remarkable founder.

Along these years the hated Catholics were subjected to a variety of experiences. The administration of affairs conducted in mildness during the Commonwealth somewhat shielded them as it did other Dissenters. The law banishing them twenty miles from London was not strictly enforced. They had been required to take an oath declaring that the church of Rome was not the true church, that there was no transubstantiation, no purgatory, that no worship ought to be paid to the host, to images or the crucifix, that salvation was not merited by good works, and they were forbidden to go to the mass. They were to reject the claims of the pope to depose

rulers, to free people from oaths to magistrates, or to any assumption of authority in the British nation. One refusing to take such a comprehensive oath had two-thirds of his estate confiscated to the use of the state, but that those people could be loyal to their sovereign is shown by their secreting the fugitive Prince Charles in his famous flight from the battlefield of Worcester though great rewards were set upon his head.

Dissent steadily increasing gave despair to the Presbyterian State Church as it had to the Anglican. This despair was the hope of men with hot hearts and clear vision. The Baptists, though Cromwell dismissed some of his officers for their beliefs, grew in numbers and influence, for one of their pamphlets written in remonstrance to this act of the Protector declared they were numerous everywhere in towns, provinces, islands, navies, armies, and even in the court.

The Jews, hated about as intensely as were the papists, though for different reasons, were now permitted under great restrictions to settle in England. Owing to the constant appeal of the Puritans to the Old Testament, there may have been a bond of sympathy between the two sects. Later the Jews with their acute business ability came in great numbers, mostly Spanish and Portuguese from Amsterdam, to whom Charles Second put himself under great obligation for money borrowed of them, and in 1662 they set up a synagogue in London.

The Anglicans now standing as dissenters gave the Puritan Parliament and Cromwell no end

of trouble. The Episcopalians stood stoutly by Charles and after his death were forever intriguing for the return of Prince Charles. Lest the whole bench of bishops should die, as they were growing old and their numbers were thinning, thus losing to the Anglican body the apostolic succession, steps were taken to consecrate some younger men who could pass down the mysterious power of ordination. To make this plan effective they recognized the power of the absent prince as king and had each province assemble in council or otherwise and consecrate fit persons for the vacant sees to be ratified later by the king. As Charles Second came to England the Anglican service was at once set up in the palace of Whitehall, it being taken for granted that the old Parliamentary establishment of the Anglican church was the only law in the matter. Everywhere in churches and in Parliament the Liturgy was restored. The clergy flocked to the court seeking restoration to their places taken from them during the Commonwealth.

## CHAPTER XXVII

It was fortunate for English life that at that time one of the grandest men the earth ever produced was the leading and directing spirit. As the Anglo-Saxon race climbs up to Cromwell's ideals and spirit, reaching the full fruit of his planting, more and more will his rich legacies be appreciated. His steps and those forward ones taken under his impulses were only beginnings, yet beginnings that have never been retraced, keeping steadily on in spite of any attempts to block progress to nobler things. That magnificent army of Ironsides, the enlarging commercial spirit of London, and the country full of broadening views, the Bible in the hands of the common people, were combining with other things to bring toleration. As Cromwell was embarking for Ireland for that terrible campaign best remembered by the appalling massacre of Drogheda, but which vanquished and settled the turbulence there for a generation, he sent a letter to Parliament recommending the removal of all penal laws relating to religion, with which request Fairfax and other officers in council joined. Yet this was but a partial step. The Catholics were not to have its favors. To set up prelacy was not in its purpose. But conscience was to have more freedom. This law recommended was passed. Later the stern laws of Elizabeth's time against nonconformity were repealed, but it was enacted that all should attend divine service



somewhere. As Protector Cromwell tried to reconcile the Presbyterians and Independents by having them united in committees for examining candidates for the ministry, allowing the former to hold their assemblies and ordain ministers according to the Directory. Richard Baxter by his preaching and writing was a leading spirit in reconciling the leading sects. In France and Germany Protestantism was fighting for its very life; in Holland the findings of the synod of Dort were rigorously enforced; while in Sweden, Norway and Denmark only Lutheranism was permitted. And even in England there was found an extreme wing of the Presbyterian party which regarded toleration but soul murder.

A strong champion for toleration was the able, Independent divine, Dr. John Owen, whose books, one written in 1647, another twenty years later, had a profound influence in pushing forward public opinion. With Owen's pen John Milton's was also enlisted, these tall men being aided by a host of lesser writers. What might be termed a school of writers arose, among whom the Latitudinarians, Chillingworth, Tillotson, Jeremy Taylor and others appear, whose writings and words deeply moved the growing thought of the time toward broader views. Not blind bigotry but questioning enlightenment was the issue. To doubt, to search, to decide, were the steps taken by many to the detriment of clericalism, but for the good of the race. Public sentiment was now sweeping beyond the projects of Pym, Hampden and Vane, and a large hope was gaining ground that the kingdom of England might become the kingdom of

God. Theories were passing into action. A progress hard to define but strong and deep was bringing forward a better civilization, better laws, nobler literature, more tolerant religion. The middle of the century saw the end of religious wars. Out of those years of turmoil when Puritan excesses of dress, speech, manners, looks, were made the subject of satire and buffoonery, came a people with less impiety than at any time from the beginning of the Reformation. Profanity was checked, so were drunkenness and foulness, bankruptcy was hardly known for twenty years, not a degrading play was enacted in London. Sunday was rigidly observed, the ministry was active in preaching and catechizing.

After the Barebones Parliament resigned in 1653 Cromwell and his officers struck out a plan consisting of forty-two articles for the government of the three kingdoms. In this plan it was declared that the Christian religion contained in the Scriptures should be held as the public profession of the realm, that none should be compelled to conform to public religion by penalties or otherwise, that all professing faith in God by Jesus Christ, no matter how much they differed, should be protected in their faith and in the exercise of their religion. But this declared toleration did not extend to popery or to prelacy.

Few men have so profoundly impressed their age as did Cromwell. His was a time of change when the mightiest national and racial forces were active and the nation plastic, when one, a born leader of men whose grandeur of spirit and work it has taken two centuries to comprehend, was brought to the

front by the movement of what has been rated as the blind forces of progress, but which now, more than ever before are seen to have been greatly the guidance under human limitations of an over-ruling Providence. Cromwell grew up among a community of Puritans, early passed through a season of vivid religious experience, coming out of that period of spiritual and mental anxiety with the indwelling presence of God recognized by him. Under this divine light he was ever afterward a man to do what he deemed to be his duty. He was the man of whom Macaulay says, after the Restoration, "Those who had fled before him were forced to content themselves with the miserable satisfaction of digging up, hanging, quartering and burying the remains of the greatest prince that has ever ruled England."

In those years of unrest steps were taken for the good of Wales. In 1649 an act was passed to aid in giving religious instruction to that country. The people lacked Bibles and catechisms. Many of the clergy were of scandalous character, idle and ignorant. The schoolmasters were as low as the clerics. To redress these grievances was the purpose of Parliament. A commission having the matter in hand soon had a hundred preachers supplying the churches that had been neglected or deserted by the previous clergy. Preaching three or four times a week was set up in all considerable towns, and three hundred parishes were by an itinerant system furnished with ministers. Even then for lack of clergy laymen gifted and educated were set at work.

The Scots never liked the Commonwealth. The

ill attempts at reconciliation with the Dissenters, the insistence of the Covenant, and that a Stuart should be their king, the disastrous wars with Cromwell, the defeats of Dunbar and Worcester, the stern hand of the Lord Protector, had all sunk deep into the heart of the Scot. But the Scots were pious. The Puritan flame burned deeper here than in England. Scotland wanted religious freedom while England strove first for political liberty. Among the Scots noble laymen were often leaders in this high religious spirit. Schools were set up whose elevating influence was perpetuated most nobly through succeeding generations. Dislike the Commonwealth and hate Cromwell as they would, they were not blind to the good order and higher religious condition of that rule. Remonstrant and Resolutioner alike sought "to purge and plant the church." The Scot clergy themselves, though calling Cromwell a usurper, admitted that at no other time did Christ's gospel so flourish in Scotland, the bitter waters, they said, being sweetened by the Lord's remarkable blessing upon the labors of his servants.

When the army of the hated usurper was directing the military and civil affairs of Scotland, "justice was carefully administered, and vice was suppressed and punished, there was a great appearance of devotion, the Sabbath was observed with uncommon strictness, none might walk the streets at time of service or frequent public houses, the evenings of the Lord's day were spent in catechizing their children, singing psalms and other acts of devotion, so much that an acquaintance with the principles of religion

and the gift of prayer increased prodigiously among the common people."

The two great Universities were found to be nests of discontent and of plots for the return of the Stuart line. The vice-chancellor of Oxford and the heads of the colleges were displaced, Cromwell was made chancellor, the Presbyterians gradually being replaced by the more loyal Independents. In the Universities, as in the parishes, drunkenness, profanity, gaming and many kinds of immorality had found their place, which Cromwell was determined to correct. Preaching was increased in the colleges, on Sundays three or four sermons were given in each church, on other days lecturers urged the claims of the gospel so that in the universities, as in Ireland, both education and religion were revived. That culture during those years was of a high order was shown by the many great men of the generation now educated. As many degrees in divinity were given as in all other professions. On the Restoration the expelled heads of the colleges, the fellows and others, sought and gained their former places.

The sympathies and outlook of Cromwell and England were at this time wider than the island. His strong arm reached across the channel to aid the continental Protestants. The Duke of Savoy, a subservient son of popery, determined that those of his subjects who had long departed from the faith of Rome should be compelled to conform to the ways of that hierarchy. To this end he sent troops to drive out from their Piedmont valleys those heretics and to kill any that remained. Such as

escaped the sword fled to the mountains suffering with hunger and cold. They appealed to Cromwell. He had a collection of money taken for them in England by which more than thirty thousand pounds were obtained, and in 1655 a time of fasting and prayer was appointed. Some of the Protestants of other countries also helped them. Cromwell sent an agent to the Duke of Savoy saying in a strong message that he not only pitied those sufferers but that he should exert himself to deliver them. The pope and papist growled but the persecutions ceased. The discreet Duke of Savoy heeded the words of the stern Protector and restored the fugitives to their homes. Deeming that the pope incited this bloody persecution, Cromwell threatened that if necessary his cannon should be heard at Rome. The Huguenots, those French Protestants, had raised a temporary tumult at Nismes, but though submitting to the laws the French Court was determined to ruin them. On their appealing to Cromwell his protest met a sudden response of favor from Mazarin, the French minister, who was said to be more afraid of Cromwell than of the devil. Cromwell suggested a great council of all the Protestant powers of Europe to stand opposed to the Jesuits in their world-wide purpose of overthrowing the results of the Reformation. But the death of Cromwell stopped what might have been a magnificent instrument for the defense of truth and for its widening influence.

A change was manifest in the character of the literature during the Commonwealth. It became purer. The Puritan spirit touched writers so that

many totally escaped the grossness of preceding times. The style also became more direct and simple. Cromwell encouraged letters. Free-thinkers, royalists, Anglican writers, were protected in their literary activities. Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich, wrote in a style so pure that he was called the Seneca of England. Richard Baxter's "Saints' Everlasting Rest," and Jeremy Taylor's "Holy Living and Dying," both written in this period are classics to-day in the religious life. The strong works of Barrow, of Stillingfleet, and of Tillotson have also been read by pious souls to this day. Cudworth, a free thinker, wrote his Intellectual System in the quiet of the Protector's toleration. It is said that Hobbes writing the famed Leviathan was safer with the Puritans than among his friends, the exiles of the Royalist faction. As passing time blotted Dryden's record, he himself was pure in life and taste. Baxter also later before the infamous Jeffreys was addressed by that monstrosity: "Richard, thou art an old knave, thou hast written books enough to load a cart, and every book was as full of sedition as an egg is full of meat. By the grace of God I'll look after thee." So Jeffreys did, casting the strenuous preacher and virile writer into prison. The lighter literature, however, stands in muddy contrast to the nobler product of the pure writers. Verses of love and romance were low and impure. The coming of Charles Second opened the floodgates of this class of literature till plays and theaters became so dark that sober people left them.

## CHAPTER XXVIII

With the end of the Commonwealth, militant Puritanism may be said to close. Even Cromwell committed to this militancy seems in his last days to have acknowledged the impossibility to reform religion by law and arms. Not prejudice against those grander steps forward can hide the vast good done during the distinctively Puritanic period. To bring the teachings of the Bible into actual practice in men's lives takes time and the deep changes which come through enlightenment and willing acceptance of those teachings. Like all reformers the Puritans felt they had a distinct call from Heaven and if it is said they did their work imperfectly such is the doom of all human endeavor. That justice should be done on earth even the terrible Ironsides going into battle singing psalms and having for their battle cry, "Religion," or "The Lord of Hosts," saw to be the purpose of their pikepush and swordplay. The steady character of the race was apparent in those years.'

Prince Charles, an exile with the Stuart Court in France, seeking the throne from which the Puritan movement had thrust his family, adopted the Catholic worship after the disastrous campaign in Scotland and at Worcester. His subterfuge of signing the Scot Covenant, a Stuart duplicity, was now apparent. As the intrigues that led to the Restoration were going on he pledged his word as a king



that no one should be disturbed for his religion, full liberty being allowed tender consciences. It transpired, however, that the new King was but lightly interested in religion, that his scheme of toleration meant to include Catholics, a step as impossible to Anglican as to Dissenter. But Charles really laughed at all religion, even his secret relation to the papists sitting lightly on him.

The efforts of both Charles and James to grant toleration, by that to include the papists, was thwarted, now by court influence under Clarendon, now through the determined opposition of the Anglican prelates. Even the Dissenters, seeing the purpose of the King, charily accepted any of his concessions. Parliament ordered the hangman to burn the League and Covenant, together with the acts, ordinances, engagements and other laws made under the Commonwealth. The House of Commons voted that no bill of toleration should be brought to them. Some of the prelates in their zeal became hunters of the heretics, Bishop Gunning, at one time finding the doors fastened against him, ordered the constable to beat them down with a sledge. Says a writer, "The madness of the time prevailed against all reason." Not all the prelates adopted the dragooning spirit, some mercifully keeping in the background.

After the great Clarendon fell, five men were chosen for a council of state with which Charles purposed without the aid of parliaments to govern the kingdom. A word from the initial letters of these men's names now came into use, Cabal, and it is in use to-day. Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington,

Lauderdale, are by this word immortalized. Clifford was an open papist, Ashley a concealed one, Buckingham an atheist and debauchee, Arlington a deist, and Lauderdale irreligious. With such a group of men Charles was governing Christian England. The Convocation not meeting the wishes of the King for a large subsidy or gift, deciding instead to have their benefices taxed like the temporal property, fell under royal displeasure, was seldom called to meet and when called only met for the sake of form. Attempting to set up toleration by royal edict, since the Parliament was opposed to it, Charles was persuaded by the hierarchy that only schism with countless evils would come with this attempt and stopped in his purpose for the time being so that uniformity was remorselessly pressed. The Presbyterians, before representing the Established Church, now found themselves reduced from the persecutors to the persecuted. If ministers cried out against the oppressive laws and the course of the prelates they were shut up in the prisons. If they wrote in favor of the Covenant and of Presbyterianism they were fined and bundled into prison and kept long in bonds. Spies and informers dogged the suspected ones. The oath of these informers thus let loose was enough without other witnesses for a jury to convict a Dissenter. Those having held cures during the Commonwealth were compelled if possible to refund the income of the benefices during their occupancy. Whole families, helpless mothers and children, were turned out into a cold world. When in the Commonwealth time curates were ejected to give place

to these Presbyterians now in turn rejected, they were allowed one-fifth of their former income, but now no such merciful provision was granted.

The loathsome prisons made short work of those confined in them. The loathsomeness of the prisons in previous generations was not yet corrected. A limited charity fed some of these ministers and their families. Two thousand were said to have been deprived. Other professions were filled by some of these cultured men while a few became chaplains or teachers in private families. Their opposition was cried out to be sedition. Oaths were persistently tendered them. Allegiance, non-resistance, repudiation of the covenant, were demanded to which some yielded but many refused. To the praise of Charles Second it may be said that his voluptuous nature usually recoiled from these severe ways. When complaint was made to him that nonconformists were increasing he responded that the clergy were chiefly to blame, for had they lived good lives, gone about their parishes, and taken pains to convince the nonconformists of their mistakes, the nation might have escaped those troubles.

Parliament was now moved by a spirit similar to that of the hierarchy. It declared against the seditious conventicles, for in its views Dissenters, being opposed to the laws setting up an established church, were seditious, contriving insurrection. The old law of Elizabeth against conventicles was revived, by which all persons peremptorily refusing to go to church must suffer banishment and if they returned to England were condemned to death. The noncon-

formist ministers usually tried to keep within the law, preaching only to families to which no more than four besides were allowed to come. If people in adjoining houses could hear this preaching it was considered against the law. Under these enormities preaching was broken up, houses were ransacked, goods confiscated, cattle driven away and people left to languish in prison for months without trial. Even troops were used to hunt down these violators of law. Further, a nonconformist minister coming within five miles of any city or borough sending a member to Parliament, or within the same distance of any place where the minister had preached before, should be fined forty pounds.

In 1678 the Test Act was passed, an act aimed at the papists. By it all Catholics save James, the Duke of York, were excluded from seats in Parliament. For his papist faith bills were brought into Parliament several times to exclude the Duke from the succession, but through court influence they failed, though the people feared him for his church relations. The Test Act enraged Charles whose heart, though secretly, was with the Catholics. Because the Dissenters could not join the King in his hot opposition to the Test Act they were made to smart. Even a Catholic writer not ignorant of Rome's persecutions declared that these were surpassed by the persecutions of the hierarchy of England. The restored prelates, mostly old men, neglected their duties, falling back on their prerogatives, Raising large sums of money on their restored properties they freely scattered it to secure adherents by

dignities and places. Many of the young prelates were superficial prigs, being poor apologies for ministers to the people. Luxury came in like a flood. Pepys says, "The clergy was so high that all the people I do see protest against their practices." A flood of evil was sweeping over England. Such people as did not drink, or swear or break the Sabbath were sneered at as Puritans, fanatics, republicans. In the plays to which throngs crowded, religion was mentioned with contempt.

But in the midst of the grossness and frivolity a new class of clerics arose to their duties. So liberal were those men that they were classed as Latitudinarians. Prominent among them were the Cambridge men, Whichcoat, Cudworth, Wilkins, More, Worthington. They claimed that Christianity was given of Heaven to soften and ennoble man and to lift him away from narrowness, partisanship, superstition and conceits. They successfully impressed their broader views upon people with whom they came in contact, succeeding in it so that finally better prelates came into place as Stillingfleet, Tillotson, Patrick and others. They were opposed alike to the cant of Puritans and to the profligacy of the Reformation. This advancing school brought in a new way of preaching. The style before had been pedantic with many quotations from the early Fathers and other ancient writers, discussing at length every word of the text from a concordance with only a short application. This new school preached "clear, plain and short." In this they followed the lectures as the despised dissenting min-

isters were termed. The people at large by this change were greatly aided in comprehending the Bible and their religious duties. Through all this time the influence of Hobbes was vast for freedom. Great preachers, Isaac Barron, Robert South, Stillfleet and others, had a rich, elevating power.

Before the Commonwealth a class of preachers called lecturers arose, attaining their duties under great difficulties. During that period they increased in numbers and influence and though opposed by the Establishment continued their activities afterwards. Most of these men were dissenting ministers ejected from their livings when the ecclesiastical weathercock was turned about. Some were men never fully inducted into the cleric ranks by any form of ordination, but educated, apt to teach, and successful instructors of the Bible. They were employed by private persons or by corporations, or by other means to preach at odd times and in places not reached by the church authorities. They were under legal obligation to read the ritual but mostly evaded it. Being spirited, attractive preachers they drew crowds to hear them, causing complaints from the regular clergy. Most of the poor people unless enthusiasts clung to the Established Church as did the nobility, but men of intensely religious life went largely with the Dissenters. Both systems produced men and women of noble character, of pure lives and devoted labor, people usually passed over by historians yet of whom now and then a passing glimpse can be obtained in contemporary writings.

Alongside this personal devoutness was the sym-

pathy natural toward suffering shown at the time of the Plague when the King subscribed a thousand pounds a week for the sufferers, followed in this beneficence by the Queen, the Court, the prelates, and by the city government. The warning sign of the Plague placed upon the doors was a large red cross and the prayer, "Lord, have mercy on us all." At this time superstition ran wild, people declaring that ghosts were seen at the overloaded cemeteries, portents glared in the sky, fanatics cried out the judgments of God. Ministers, both Anglican and Dissenters, forgetting for the time their animosities, preached in the churches made common by the awful visitation when thousands were dying daily, yet the Court and the Prime Minister persecuted the faithful Dissenters for that very course of mercy and devotion. In 1677 the old law for burning heretics, coming down from a date as early as 1400, was repealed.

The terrible whippings before inflicted were stopped after the Restoration. The usual results of persecution were everywhere in evidence. Dissenters were relentlessly deprived of their churches, were cited before ecclesiastical tribunals, their meeting places had to be changed secretly, disguises had to be adopted by their preachers, some of the people in very despair attended the parish churches. Baxter was cast into prison and many fled oversea. The abortive attempt of the Duke of Monmouth to secure the crown was based partly upon religious grounds, since he claimed to take up arms in defense of Protestantism when James Second, after the death

of Charles Second, ascended the throne. Of the six hundred executed under the atrocious Jeffreys at the west, most of those who had taken up arms with Monmouth were Dissenters. Many of these people not killed under Jeffrey's mandate were sold into slavery to the West Indies, their passage there rivaling in suffering and mortality the middle passage of the African negroes. In this nefarious traffic of their English brethren some of the courtiers were engaged.

In the time of James Second the Dissenters could be classified in four main sects, the Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists and Quakers. The Presbyterians and Independents were greatly weakened in the part they played in the perished Commonwealth. The Baptists "were generally men of virtue and of universal charity," while the Quakers though marked with peculiarities of dress and speech had a powerful friend at Court, William Penn. King James, having trouble with his parliaments, determined to rule without them, using his Council as advisers and issuing declarations designed to have force equal to the acts of Parliament. To aid in accomplishing this end he decided to relieve Dissenters, both Protestant and Catholics from the restrictions under which they were held by preceding laws. In place of the bloody Jeffreys, Hubert was made Chief Justice who with a different hand went over the country seared by the passage of Jeffreys, even encouraging conventicles of Dissenters.

A contemporary writer, Delaune, claimed that eight thousand Dissenters had died in prison during



the reign of Charles Second, while losses in their business, trades, and fines exacted of them arose to millions of pounds. It was claimed that seventy thousand families had been ruined. As before, Holland and the American colonies were enriched by such noble patriots. The Dissenters received the Indulgence offered by James with such coldness that it enraged him so that in a recoil of spirit he more than ever had the old laws against them enforced. In some ways they used the freedom granted by the Indulgence, for the Presbyterians and the Independents in London set up lectures in Pinner's Hall, this invaluable course being continued until 1695. At that date the two sects separated, the Presbyterians starting a similar course by themselves at Salter's Hall, both courses being kept up many years. In politics the Dissenters joined the low church party, gaining ground in the parliamentary elections where they were strenuous for Protestantism, since the Declaration of Indulgence had given them rights to liberty and to hold offices of trust and profit which had been denied them before. Imprisoned Quakers by the hundreds and Catholics by the thousands were now set free. The colonies of New England where much restriction had been attempted were glad of the Indulgence so that Dr. Increase Mather went to England to thank the king for it though the colonial rulers opposed the step.

In the time of Charles Second the Anglican Church began to find a cleavage in its ranks separating it into High Church and Low Church, a division

marking it to the present day. High Church clergy were more ritualistic, favored royal prerogative, were mostly adherents of the fugitive Stuarts, and were unfavorable to toleration. In politics this party became known as Tories, a term of reproach from a low Irish word. On the other hand the Low Church were moderate in ritualism, favored toleration until they were termed Latitudinarians, were bitter against popery, in politics were called Whigs, also a term of reproach borrowed from a Scotch word. As James issued his Declaration of Indulgence the prelates refused to read it or to order their ministers to do so, the doctrine long preached by them by non-resistance to the royal word or will dissipating like a puff of smoke.

Art, during the later Stuart period before under the ban of the Puritan spirit was to a degree revived. Sir Christopher Wren's genius found full scope, touching with incomparable glory the productions of that period. The churches, chapels, oratorios, and other buildings bear the stamp of his genius, while Wren's true monument surrounds the visitor as he stands wondering in the glory of St. Paul's cathedral. Along with him was Gibbons, the ablest sculptor of the time whose natural aptitude for art was carefully fostered by those in high places, his works being mostly of a religious character, like his statues of John, Paul and Peter. Frescoes of spiritual import were placed in the churches and chapels as well as in the palace of Whitehall.

## CHAPTER XXIX

England had become heartily sick of the Stuarts. As the hopes of James arose on the prospect of an heir by his Portuguese queen he issued another declaration of indulgence broader than previous ones, being designed to cover papists in office as well as other things unconstitutional. This royal declaration he ordered first to be read in the London churches and afterwards in the churches outside of the city. A few of the clergy fell in with this mandate but most of them refused so it was read in but seven of the London churches. Some of the prelates met in the Lambeth Palace and issued a defense of their course, saying they deemed the declaration a dispensing power. The seven prelates who sprang to the defense of rights were Archbishop Sancroft, Lloyde of St. Asaph, Ken of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, White of Peterborough, and Trelawny of Bristol. When these men were summoned by the angry James they persisted in their defiance and were sent to the Tower. On all their route to that prison a vast multitude gave the bishops the most intense assurance of good will and sympathy. James saw his mistake but his papist counselors urged him to press the issue.

It was the crisis. An address was sent to William, the Stadtholder of Holland, inviting him and Mary, his wife, the Protestant daughter of James, to come

and assume the government of England. This invitation was signed by lords spiritual, lords temporal and many others. For some time William and Mary had been looking for such a call and it was not now unwelcome. Soon a great fleet and many battalions of veteran troops were prepared for crossing to England. James was in an ecstasy of fear. In his terror he offered to call a parliament and undo his arbitrary enactments but the people would trust little to these enforced concessions. His wife and child left for France and soon James himself, learning that the army, the aristocracy, the Universities, and almost the whole nation had gone to William, also fled in his wife's footsteps.

William issued a proclamation saying he came to grant liberty in all matters civil and religious, that he would call a lawful parliament to effect agreement between the Established Church and Dissenters, and that for the present all should have freedom of conscience. William was a great statesman. He rapidly gained the confidence of most of the nation, oaths of allegiance being taken by men of all classes. Mary, staying for the time being in Holland, prayed continuously for the safe passage of the fleet and when it was finally enclosed in the harbor and the landing effected, William, grasping Burnet by the hand, eagerly asked that prelate if he did not now believe in predestination, but that Latitudinarian divine, also tainted with Arminianism, replied with courtly grace that he should never forget the providences of God on this occasion.

Parliament, planning toleration, passed an act

to this end without repealing however the hateful Test Act and the Corporation Act. A further step was urged so to modify the ritual and rites of the church services that Dissenters could be comprehended in the fellowship of the Establishment. The Anglican divines in the committee strenuously opposed any change in the liturgy. A bitter feeling against William arose among the ritualists since they claimed that he was opposed to the Episcopacy. The effort to make the Christians of England into one sect failed. Still, the act of toleration relieved the situation so that absentees from the Anglican services were not oppressed. Unitarians and papists, however, were not granted these favors extended to other sects. But in some of the colonies growing up across the Atlantic, Rhode Island settled by the Baptists and Pennsylvania by the Quakers, these people were offered full religious freedom, prophecy of the complete freedom of the church life later to be obtained in United States. So dissatisfied were William and Mary with the spirit of the Convocation that during their reign they did not call that body together again nor was it called again to do business for a century.

An inconsiderable part of the Anglican clergy would not take the oath of allegiance, hence were called Nonjurors. These clerics still considered James the King of England. Eight prelates and about four hundred curates held to this position. They formed a nest of conspirators for the return of James, continually intriguing by correspondence and by messengers for this purpose. Most promi-

ment of the Nonjurors was Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the graceful, genial Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells, whose hymns have enriched the books of song for the church ever since his day. Consistent time was allowed the Nonjurors to decide on what course they would eventually take, and such as were persistent against the law were finally displaced, leaving them discontented and a constant source of annoyance. Some became teachers, a few re-entered the regular ranks, others were aimless idlers living on the bounty of a pitying people, and others passed to the Catholics. Such prelates among them who yet held their places refused to ordain ministers because the names of William and Mary were in the liturgy. When a group of these disturbers, eighteen in number, were transported from Scotland to Virginia, William distributed two hundred pounds among them.

William, a Dutchman, but slightly understanding the English language and the peculiar qualities of the English people, was set down to many difficult tasks. He was sensitive, self-reliant, farseeing, brave, a great statesman, frequently chafing at the narrow, insular views of his parliaments and councilors, jealous of his Dutch troops, his Dutch favorites, and of his own taciturnity. Although a Presbyterian of the continental type with full belief in predestination he was tolerant of all forms of religious worship and insisted that such freedom of conscience should be allowed to all as he had been used to at home.

When the Scots proffered him the crown of their

land and the coronation oaths were tendered him, one requirement was to root out all heretics and all enemies of the worship of the true God. Knowing that this might be construed by the intense Scots as meaning all who were not Covenanters, the King stopped, declaring that he would not become a persecutor, when the Scot commissioners replied that neither the words of the oath nor the laws of Scotland laid any such obligation on him, on which assurance he took the oath. He was said to have three objects in view in England touching church affairs, toleration of Dissenters, some plan of comprehension, and the opening of all offices to all Protestants. He attained the first but in the other two England was behind the great Dutch statesman. In his own time he was thus described:

“Great without pride, true to his word, wise in his deliberations, secret in his councils, generous in his attempts, undaunted in dangers, valiant without cruelty, and unchanged under all events; loves justice with moderation, government without tyranny, religion without persecution, and devotion without hypocrisy.”

In all his inner life he was greatly aided by Mary who like him was a devoted Christian full of charities and kindness, a steadfast patriot and an affectionate wife.

The far-reaching Bill of Rights enlarged from the Declaration of Rights made when William First came to England, was the natural reaction against the Stuart domination. One point was that any one holding communion with the Church of Rome or marrying

a papist should be excluded from the crown and be incapable of inheriting it. In 1700 in the Act of Settlement this bill was enlarged by the law that whoever came to the crown must join in communion with the Church of England. In the deeper sense of rights growing up among the people the aristocracy learned that it could not hope for complete immunity from obligation to the people. The long claim of divine right of kingship was set aside when by vote of Parliament William and Mary were elected to the throne.

Along with these changes for good was most astounding and graceless corruption in high places and in Parliament. Bribery was so common that ministers to have a bill passed were compelled to buy votes in the Parliament by the wholesale. With such precious statesmen William had to do, but his sickened heart rebelled against the situation. But strive as he might against the custom coming down from past generations he could not escape. Bishop Burnet in his honest indignation remonstrated with the King for giving way to the custom, when William is said to have replied: "Nobody hates bribery worse than I. But I have to do with a set of men who have to be managed in this vile way or not at all. I must strain a point or the country is lost." The struggle for supremacy between the great political parties, the Whigs and the Tories, was of a nature to be expected in such a state of high life. To bribery were added lying, violence, deceit and passionate grasping for income and place.

In spite of these distressing phases of life there



was honesty among business men, increasing wealth was bringing its aid to better things, virtues were dominating in many characters and in many homes, letters were becoming purer and awakening conscience was relegating bribery and corruption, violence and robbery, to their place outside the pale of human progress. The persecuting times of the immediate past were sure to bring out grand characters, like Bunyan, George Fox and Barclay, with statesmen like John Temple and Bishop Burnet, men tall, sun lighted men, whose influence was on firm foundations, and who were building for coming generations. Grand men sat in episcopal palaces, and as noble ones preached in dissenting chapels, still bearing the reddened scars of dungeon and pillory. These men were preparing the realm for toleration. The vain hope was held by some of the Establishment that if the stout teachers of dissent and their followers could not now be brought to conformity, at least the children of coming generations could be so enclosed in the fold. Later, education laws to this end were enacted.

But notwithstanding this increased efficiency a spirit of scepticism was growing up in the country coupled with scoffing at religion. It may scarcely be doubted but that this was a healthy recoil from the imperfect Christianity when reached in England. A knowledge of what that religion really was increased by reading the Bible and by other means, the serious, enlightened intellect could not fail to note important discrepancies. Christianity and practice did not agree. Such scepticism was a good sign.

It was leading to better things. Along with this trend was one toward Unitarian beliefs, though these people, as also the Catholics were excepted in the Bill of Rights. Unitarian writers of different shades of belief known as Socinians, Arians, and others, were active with the press, issuing pamphlets in explanation and in defense of their opinions. A tract of this kind being sent by the penny post to some of the lords, was ordered to be burnt by the hangman.

Matters bearing on the religious life were multiplying so that their view is most complex. During the gigantic struggle with France, when that country engaged alone in an aggressive war upon almost all Europe, the patriotic spirit of England took varied forms. Mutual forbearance of debtors and creditors, of soldiers and people, was such along with other cases of like import that thoughtful persons saw "the interference of a gracious Providence" protecting and guiding England. Many were the days of fasting and prayer. Once a month on a Wednesday the nation almost unanimously bent its head in prayer and penitence. Scotland did the same. On the other hand the French refugees prayed and fasted for their suffering compatriots on the continent. England saw its own independence at stake, for France seemed aiming at world supremacy along with its championship of Catholicism. Love of freedom and hope in Christianity were great passions dominating England at that period. With such a high tension of feeling it is no wonder that England saw special providences in the escape of William from

assassination and battle danger, himself the great organizer of opposition to France. England and Protestantism were fortunate in having the Prince of Orange, the wise statesman and brave general at the head of the powers combined against French pretensions. Again and again it seemed that a protecting hand saved him from death. Then the nation would break forth into thanksgiving.

Even the Nonjurors mostly seemed thankful that he whom they deemed their rightful sovereign, James Stuart, was not brought back by force of arms.

The private benefactions of philanthropists, a most exalted glory of the Anglo-Saxon race as it has spread over the continents, had pleasing instances along this time. Fernin, a rich Londoner, was full of charities both private and public, aiding the poor, opening schools, founding hospitals, and obtaining money from other wealthy persons to aid in these things. Yet this man was one of the proscribed Unitarians. Charities in many forms increased, the Earl of Essex built up a rich library, others were set up in the colony of Maryland. Two noble societies that have sent down the generations a flood of benefits were founded now, that for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and the other for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The Greenwich Hospital projected by Queen Mary was after her death a special concern of William who carried it forward as her monument, so that in 1705, munificently furnished, it began to receive patients. Court and hierarchy supported it. Science bringing its rich benefits to man was fostered by

Bishop Burnet who saw, he said, that it was joined to religion. With him were its great promoters, Bacon, Boyle, Locke, and others. Schools were founded by private means, one in Grand Lane, Southwark, by Poulton, where poor children could be educated free of cost. This impelled others to like deeds. Schools arose in which Protestantism was taught along with book studies.

## CHAPTER XXX

England at that time did not see the great height of its Dutch king. One instance of his spirit of toleration and sympathy was in his Act of Grace, of which Macaulay says: "The nation owed to William alone and it is one of his noblest and purest titles of renown." Parliament, smarting under abuses of previous reigns, refused to pass an Indemnity Bill to give ease to the political situation. But William issued an Act of Grace unanimously accepted by both Houses of Parliament, granting amnesty to most of the political offenders of the past, save the living members of the High Court of Justice that condemned Charles First to the scaffold. He was steadily introducing a kindlier spirit into all English life. After his victory in Ireland William rode the next Sunday to St. Patrick's Cathedral, to return thanks for the victory.

To the injury of the island and the people tens of thousands of soldiers soon passed to France, mostly to be found in arms against William in his continental campaigns. He so comprehended the loyalty and sacrifice made by the Dissenters of Antrim and Down that he gave twelve hundred pounds to their ministers to compensate their losses. Ever since that time this bounty has been perpetuated by Parliament to the Presbyterians of Ulster.

The influence of Mary upon the women of her time, whether as Princess or as Queen, was most

noble and elevating to the sex. Nor had England been without those in high life and low alike who were models of industry, charity, piety and devotion.

When the foul court of James existed some women of it were yet devout and modest, Lady Rachel Russell, Lady Packingham, Mrs. Godolphin, being foremost among those bright examples. The last one is said to have become "more and more a religious, discreet, and admirable creature, beloved by all."

The press, that mighty engine for man's rights, was set free in this period. In 1685 the license by which it was practically muzzled had been renewed for five years, and the Parliament of 1690 voted that it be put on again for only two years. That was the end. A bill was brought in during 1697 to renew the gag, but was lost in the Commons by two hundred to sixteen. This momentous achievement was one of those steps forward, little noted at the time, that have now and then come to the race like the influence of the atmosphere, unnoticed but of vastest worth. Under the repressive system men who should have been free to tell their thoughts would stoop to duplicity and concealment. England alone among the nations learned this fact, the benefits of which the whole Anglo-Saxon race has reaped for two hundred years.

The royal lines of Stuart, Orange and Hanover used the press as well as Anglican and Unitarian, but in the contention was progress. Dean Swift and Bolingbroke became tribunes of the people. Sir William Williams, Speaker of Commons in 1689,

printed proceedings of that house, the King's Bench fining him ten thousand pounds, but the Commons, standing by their Speaker, voted that the act of that court was illegal and ordered a bill to reverse the court decision. This act greatly aided and directed the Commons in their later discussions.

Upon the failure of the plan of comprehension, the Dissenters under their enlarged liberties pushed forward with new energy. That energy was such that the Establishment began fearing them almost as much as the papists. At this time the Independents, Baptists and Quakers, had become strong and influential. None of these sects could accept as Scriptural the government of churches by any hierarchal plan. All of them deemed the congregation itself the supreme governing power. In this principle was democracy. With the hierarchy was royalty. In religion men would be free. Dissent was not yet fully attained, but was greatly liberated from former restrictions.

Along with Protestant Dissenters stood the Catholics also as Dissenters under the laws. It is probable that William promised to the continental Catholic powers aiding him against France some favors to the English Catholics, but the fear of them in England amounted almost to a frenzy. That the pope in opposition to France was kindly disposed toward William, and that the latter had a party in the pontifical court no doubt made Englishmen more than ever watchful of Romish plots. So sharp was this spirit that in 1700 a law was passed disabling even ancient English Catholic families from holding

their estates, requiring all men above eighteen years of age to take oaths of allegiance and supremacy. One to succeed to any estate must by the age of twenty-one have further taken the test oath. This outrageous law blotted the books until 1779 when it was repealed. All Englishmen in foreign seminaries were ordered to return and none was to go out to those institutions. In 1697 all Catholic soldiers in English battalions were dismissed though many of them had fought bravely with William on the continent. Priests were banished and if returning were to be perpetually imprisoned. Most of these priests were Jacobites and a hundred pounds' reward was offered to any person discovering one of them.

An instance showing the remarkable spirit of the Quakers was of a woman, Mary Fisher, a preacher among them who first went to New England; meeting rough usage there, she returned to England, and then, thinking she was led by the spirit of God, set out to preach the gospel to the Turkish Sultan, Mahomet Fourth. At Smyrna she was headed off by the English consul, but from Venice started again overland for the Turkish camp at Adrianople. Mahomet kindly received her, granting her permission to preach her tenets among his soldiers, offering her a guard which she declined. In safety she passed to Constantinople, thence home. It was a curious commentary on the times and people that she should be more kindly treated by the Mohammedans than by the Puritans of Boston.

In England many of the Quakers kept in prison by the authorities were basely abused by the jailors.



Penn and Barclay, their great leaders, were incarcerated like the others. Though William tried to alleviate their condition, like that of all Dissenters, not much that he desired was accomplished. Still their prison life gave their leaders time to write much which added to the peculiar prison literature.

In Scotland as in England things were in transition. At a convention similar to that held in England which acknowledged William, it was voted that James had forfeited his title to the throne, and Presbytery was declared the natural way of religion. Episcopacy must give way to Presbytery. All ministers were ordered to read the proclamation declaring the accession of William and Mary, such as refused being put out of their benefices. For thus refusing this fate befell two or three hundred. Soon began a course of abuse that has left a deep blot on Scot history. Mobs of people attacked the homes of those parish priests, especially in the western counties, destroying furniture, burning prayer books and vestments, turning whole families into the streets, locking up the manses, giving peremptory orders for them to depart, and sometimes proceeding to personal violence. This was called rabbling the ministers. However, in some parts the ministers persisted in their services so that the question of church life became a most troublesome one to the government. As these men were mostly in favor of James, often scheming for his return, the sympathies of William had to be toward the Presbyterians. Later by act of Parliament such Episcopal ministers as would take the oath of allegiance were

permitted to return to their parishes, which seventy did.

In the settlement of the Scot situation William had no direct voice. Each party, Episcopalian and Presbyterian, was insistent that the true spirit of Christianity was alone in its system. Attempts at reconciliation failed as comprehension had failed in England. When government by synods was finally set up, the parishes were given a modified privilege of selecting their own ministers.

The Scot zeal for religion led them at Edinburgh in 1697 to hang Thomas Aikenhead, a lad of eighteen, for repeating arguments against the Bible. Efforts to save him were made in vain, though he heartily recanted, for clergy and legal men were pitted against him. When hung he held a Bible in his hand. Men committing such a murder were of such stern mold as easily to believe in witchcraft. A special commission was formed to try such cases, before which venerable women and younger ones alike were accused of traffic with the devil.

Among the Highlanders at this time many old pagan rites persisted, being curiously blended with church practices. Seers wrapping themselves in bulls' hides would thus await inspiration for some expedition or for some claim of importance. The Fiery Cross, which often played so prominent a figure in their clan risings, was dipped in the blood of a freshly killed goat, the four points scorched and extinguished, and being passed rapidly from hand to hand by swift runners called the warriors to the gathering of arms. Schools were now set up in

every parish of the kingdom, by which the common people, so quick in their insight, were elevated rapidly to better things, a great tide of benefits that have come down through the generations. Doubtless Scotland owes more of her ever-increasing greatness to her schools and her churches than to all things else.

As James reached Ireland to make a fight for his throne he called a Parliament at Dublin which one day passed an act of toleration, but the very next day, the gathering being mostly Catholics, passed an act by which land of Protestants held from 1641 down was confiscated to the papists, tithes were to be transferred to the Catholic clergy and no less than twenty-six hundred persons, for being Protestants, were doomed to death. As the tide of battle turned against James and he fled again to France, the Catholics under the treaty of Limerick were to have security and the exercise of their religion as under Charles Second on oath of allegiance. But the English Parliament was slow to give those favors. Such soldiers as chose to go to the continent to other nations were not permitted to take their families. Marriage between people of different sects was not allowed. Papists could not buy land for more than thirty-one years. Such were the laws in favor of the Established Church that Presbyterians were also under the ban as Dissenters, since they could hold no office, civil or military, and their meetings were under penal liabilities. Once, however, there was union and harmony. As the Romish arms at the siege of Londonderry threatened the devoted thousands of

that city, eighteen Anglican divines and half as many nonconformists united to use their utmost influence in defense and in sustaining courage. Preaching and prayer were constantly going on. The whole people became a mighty corps of Ironsides.

## CHAPTER XXXI

The Good Queen Anne was profoundly pious. She was so devoted to the Established Church as greatly to fear toleration, hating dissent, though promising protection to Dissenters. On her birthday in 1704 she publicly announced what Bishop Burnet led her to do, the transfer of first fruits and tenths to the poor parishes of the country. This money, amounting yearly to one hundred thousand pounds or more, had in papal times been given to the popes, and after the Reformation it had been received and used by the sovereigns. Not only were the priesthood meagerly paid, but in her time thousands of clerics had no place at all for officiating. To form a test of Anne's claim to royalty the clergy had her make the trial of touching to cure scrofulous diseases. The trial was claimed to be a success, thus obtaining divine confirmation. Samuel Johnson, then a small child, was among those receiving the royal touch, though vainly in his case, for that great scholar suffered all through life from the disease, as did others touched by the Queen.

The clergy tried hard to have the Occasional Conformity Act repealed. No less than three times when the Commons passed a bill for its repeal, did the lords defeat it. Then when Parliament became strongly Tory and the heat of the Sacheverell case was glowing, a fourth bill from the Commons in 1711 passed by the lords through a collusion of

Whigs and Tories. For some years this repeal blotched the fair fame of England, but after the accession of George First a Whig Parliament repealed the repeal, for the law had become odious among thoughtful men, since one of the most exalted acts of worship was degraded to a test for office. Cowper, the poet, shot an arrow by calling it "an office key, the pick lock to a place." "Not for piety but for place," said Dean Swift as he saw rakes and other disreputable ones going to the communion. An Indemnity Bill to relieve those unwilling to take the Test Oath passed nearly every year. Asperity gradually lost many of its thorns. Latitudinarianism and Scepticism had done their work.

Another law passed in 1714, the Schism Act, was designed to suppress the schools and seminaries established by the Dissenters, shutting them off from educating their children in their own tenets. Under this law no one without a license from the bishop could teach a public or a private school and school masters must conform to the Anglican liturgy and take the sacrament. If they attended any other form of worship they were to be imprisoned and incapacitated from all teaching. If most of the Dissenters were harried out of their landed holdings they flocked to the towns and cities, where by trade and industries they grew wealthy and influential, becoming at the same time more intellectual than the country people. The immigrants seeking more religious freedom than given them on the continent were also of a superior mind and of a high grade of

industry. It was said that most of European industry was in the hands of Protestants.

Sects multiplied. Some of their names were Seekers, Waitists, Antinomians, Brownists, Ranters, Philadelphians. It was said that Arminianism, that theological spook of former generations, was spread everywhere. Seventh Day people kept Saturday sacred instead of Sunday.

Along with the decay of religious life in the early part of the century the Dissenters were declared to have decreased in numbers. Possibly the toleration given under William softened their temper and removed some of the most strenuous incentives to vigor. During the long leadership of Walpole, the repeal of the Occasional Conformity Act being rescinded and the Schism Act repealed, it was the studied purpose of that great statesman to leave matters unstirred among the sects. In the House of Lords it was laid down by the great Lord Mansfield "that nonconformity with the Established Church is recognized by law and not an offense at which it connives." A bill passed while the Whigs were in power to let the Quakers in their affirmation omit the words, "in the presence of Almighty God." These honest people were abused, lied about and caricatured.

Early in the century a strong trend toward Anti-trinitarianism set in among able divines, university professors and prominent laymen. For a while laws against them were enforced, two Presbyterian ministers being deprived of their parishes for such views, as also Whiston, a Cambridge professor. But the

trend increased, laws were neglected, and by the middle of the century nearly all the Presbyterian ministers had adopted Unitarian views.

Every opinion of England in the early part of the eighteenth century shows the condition of the religious life to have been most lamentable.

“Hogarth’s picture of ‘A Sleeping Congregation’ speaks of the times when the bewigged preacher droned his tedious hours without the slightest attempt to teach the vicious or to arouse the indifferent.”

What fire blazed was between the sects. Shocking morals prevailed among public men. Smuggling and the slave trade were regarded as lawful and innocent, though a few Quakers had begun declaring an opposition to the latter that never ceased until its utter extinction. The fear of a Stuart movement hung like a pall over the nation, a constant threat to spiritual liberty and consitutional freedom. One of the bishops, Atterbury of Rochester, was discovered in a plot to seat the Pretender on the throne, and being arrested was convicted of treason, but escaping to France, remained in exile until his death.

Indeed, the quiet accession of the House of Hanover and the triumph of constitutional over irresponsible royalty were largely owing to the sturdy adherence of the nonconformists to that House. But these prosperous sectaries along with the Churchmen shamefully neglected the lower classes. After the distressing war with France a rapid increase of



population came, but no corresponding increase of attention to the moral, intellectual, spiritual needs of those people took place. Not a new parish was formed. A new church was seldom built. No new schools were founded. The rural peasantry was left with hardly any moral instruction, and the condition of the lowly in the cities was hardly better. Mobs sacked and pillaged at will and terrified the city. Ladies went to church to ogle, flirt and gossip. To the royal chapel of St. James they would carry their fancy work and knit during service. Pauperism increased, this being laid against the industry of the continental refugees and the aid extended to them. Yet the handicrafts brought by them and the infusion of their sturdy faith were invaluable to England.

But deep as were these fetid streams, others of purer water were deeper. Later decades of the eighteenth century were to show how true and devout the British heart could be when properly led in better ways. Feasts and fasts were observed as occasion arose. Hospitals were built by laymen, who also did something to alleviate the condition of prisoners in Newgate and in other jails. For a while after the earthquake at Lisbon indecent masquerades were suppressed in fear of a similar stroke from Providence upon sinning London. Inmates of the workhouses were taught some industry and reading, writing, arithmetic as well. To them was also given religious instruction. To meet the needs of growing London, Parliament voted three hundred fifty thousand pounds to build fifty new churches, though but

twelve were erected. In planning these Sir Christopher Wren and his pupils put to work their genius for architecture.

Under Walpole the Whig party retained its old love for civil and religious liberty, yielding stability and breadth to the nation morally and financially.

Walpole dared to extend liberal feelings toward Catholics. Societies to suppress evil and to aid in works of charity and devotion were formed among the churches. Hoadly, Bishop of Bangor, preached such liberal doctrines and showed his spirit so progressive that he was half berated by others, the Bangorian controversy being so intense that the government, really in sympathy with him, closed the Convocation, which was not called again for nearly a century and a half. Hoadly himself was promoted by the King.

There was some decency in the morals of Anne's court, but that seems to have fled as the court of George First was set up. The manners of the new King were coarse and brutal, his relations with women infamous; violence and corruption were the potent powers of rule. Walpole, so long the dominating minister, used bribery with the Prince of Wales, with the Queen and with the Dissenters. He seemed incapable of comprehending any exalted sentiment in man. Defoe said there was a set of stock jobbers in London whose business was to buy and sell seats in Parliament, the price being a thousand guineas. Even the great Marlborough was understood to grow rich by shady ways, by using money furnished for his famous campaigns on the continent

and by other questionable means, while his officers, down to non-commissioned ones, were guilty of similar peculations. Gaming houses became places of unspeakable vice and women joined in the passion for gambling.

Drunkenness was greatly increased in the early Hanoverian time by the introduction of gin. Before this the habit had deepened by the excesses of the soldiers returning from the campaigns on the continent. The introduction of light French wines also gave an impulse to the awful vice. Great men were in the toils. Addison was not free from the weakness; Oxford would come drunk into the Queen's presence. Walpole's father would require his son to drink twice to his once that the young man might not see his father drunk. Walpole's later debauchery showed the fruit. It was considered a disgrace by the gentry to let a man go out of their houses sober. Among the common people beer and ale took the place of the costlier liquors among the rich. Laws had permitted all to brew these cheap drinks, the amount in 1688 with a population of but five millions was twelve million four hundred thousand barrels. By 1751 the population of London was said to be sensibly decreased, so great was the mortality and diminished birthrate induced by drink. Nor was it in London and other great cities alone. Mrs. Montagu, writing in a private letter from Yorkshire at this time, deprecated the drunken and vicious condition of the people, saying: "Most of the poor ladies in the neighborhood have more hogs in their drawing-rooms than they ever had in their pigsty."

So alarmed did the government finally become that stringent laws were made, and better sentiment growing up, the evil gradually lessened, although it has come down to the present day, an awful heritage of suffering.

The famous fairs held in London, St. Bartholomews, Southwark and others, while yielding a coarse enjoyment to the people, became places of such debauchery that the government finally suppressed them. As if nothing appealed in vain to the low spirit of the age, astrology ran mad, while witchcraft caused several to be burned in Anne's time, the law up to the ninth year of George Second's reign making it a capital crime. A feature of the social life exerting great influence was the Coffee Houses, which must have been an improvement on the taverns and other places of liquor drinking. The people, lacking newspapers, flocked to the coffee houses to exchange the latest items of gossip, court rumor, politics, or news from the continent. Oddly, religious discussion was totally debarred. Rules also against profanity and brawling were enforced. To these houses literary men came, politicians, bishops, and any one who could pay five cents for a drink and a sandwich. The elegant Swift, the lordly Johnson, the poetic Dryden, would frequently be found there, their table talk in some instances making this or that coffee house renowned. Being open to all they bred democratic feelings.

No member of the Anglo-Saxon race can read the history of prisons and prison life in those times without a thrill of shame and indignation. Their atroci-

ties came into notice and the first steps toward reformation were effected by a report of a committee from Parliament. Under great suffering a friend of General Oglethorpe had died in prison and that noble-hearted man from his place in the Commons succeeded in having a committee of investigation formed. Such scrutiny had been attempted before and had failed. It was found that jailors brutally abused the prisoners; respectable debtors unable to pay their prison fees were confined among those suffering from smallpox; from the unsanitary conditions fevers were engendered, of which many died, the contagion sometimes going out and starting a plague. In the courts of law when trying cases judges and jurymen were smitten to death by the foul, noisome poison of such conditions. Prisoners had to catch mice for food, were confined in underground dungeons and beaten by the jailors and sometimes compelled to live with the hogs. Beyond what can now be written Oglethorpe's committee found to be going on, while those high in office either neglected their duties in the matter or received pay for their duplicity. Sometimes felons whose punishment was death were asked to plead before the judges and if they refused were subjected to what was called Pressing to Death. In a dungeon such a culprit was stretched on his back, feet and legs extended and tied, then a board was placed upon his chest with stones on it of a certain weight in which plight, badly fed, he would remain day and night till he died. A book, "The Cry of the Oppressed," also called attention to these enormities. Still, little was done in behalf of prisoners.

If only such things as these were seen, the moral condition of England during the early eighteenth century might have seemed hopeless. But as the century passed on, in the darkness was light. Not wholly had the real Christian spirit died out. The regular ordinances of the Anglican Church were sustained, the services of the Dissenters were carried on, though in all the church labors there was little light or advance. A kindlier feeling was developing. A rebound from gross drunkenness was taking place. Young men were laying aside their swords on the streets so that murders and duels were less frequent. With fines collected against the profane, drunken and foul, charity schools were established, children clothed, and put out to trades. In these various reforms, laymen took an important place. The Duke of Cumberland, who ordered such atrocious slaughter of the wounded and prisoners after the battle of Culloden, was despised and sent to merited obscurity.

In a bill offered by Halifax the Cottonian collection of priceless manuscripts was given to public use, forming the nucleus of the British Museum. A single great artist, Hogarth, glorified this age. His was also a high moral purpose, the homely pictures of common life being designed to aid in uplifting morals. Puritanism is accused of having destroyed art, yet the spirit of Hogarth is that of Puritanism. Music, like art, produced no great musician. The renowned German composer, Handel, came to England, setting up a theater in which his lighter work was produced; but meeting with financial failure, he turned from his

opera to sacred music, bringing out in 1732 his great oratorio, "Esther," followed by "Deborah," "Saul" and others. Yet these did not meet with full recognition in London. Then he went to Dublin, where the music-loving Irish appreciated his rich productions and gave the musician abundant success. His supremest oratorio, "Messiah," made its first appearance in that city. Returning to London, his high contribution to sacred music was finally understood and appreciated, and Handel, now old and blind, was richly compensated.

But if sterility marked music and art in England, the product of the press may be regarded as an offset. The lifting of censorship had set the tide free. Floods of printed matter poured forth. The common form used was pamphlets. Books also were produced, some indeed of no pigmy size but huge folios with hundreds of pages. Now magazines and reviews offer vent to discussions which then found avenues through pamphlets singly issued by the writers. In the first decade or two of the century religious matters led in this activity, almost all the work of the press touching this life on one side or the other. Says Wyon:

"Since the emancipation of the press scarcely a month has passed without some crazy person exciting a sensation in religious circles by publishing a book to show the absurdity of the Christian religion, or to prove that the doctrines and ceremonies of the church had been erroneously deduced from the Scriptures."

But the blossoming freedom of the press did not

send out its aroma without being troubled. The old fear of the press lingered in the Commons, which attempted to assume even yet a depressing censorship over it. Swift and Defoe were severely handled by that irate body, while newspaper writers had to beg pardon on their knees before the Commons for writing squibs on passing events. A book on manners by the poet Whitehead was burned by the hangman, as was a volume of sermons by one of the bishops. But the tide could not be stopped by such obstructions, since they were gradually overcome and the press worked onward in its high mission. The free issue of periodicals was for a time checked by the stamp tax, even the choice works of Addison and Steele suffering under it. The way of pensions to literary men was doubtless a wise one, both Whig and Tory governments granting such aid, thus enabling literary men to devote themselves to literary toil. Newton and Locke were able to leave to us a richer legacy in science and philosophy for the pensions conferred on them. Steele, Addison, Prior, and many others enriched literature yet more for monetary aid, yielding leisure that literary men must needs obtain.



## CHAPTER XXXII

Along with this activity of the press, and partly a product of it, was the elevation of the people. As the masses read these discussions and their Bibles a consciousness of rights, of liberty, of free speech and broader outlook came to them. One manifestation of this was that the electors began to send instructions to their representatives in the Commons how to vote on pending issues. Such right had been used in Cromwell's time, but had ceased until now. Its power among the people and the movement toward democracy scared some politicians and observers, but what the nation had for two centuries been struggling for was now in part being attained. The steady-headed and true-hearted Anglo-Saxon race was working forward in its vocation, if through mists and rough ways. Not alone were the British people helped by these matters; the arms of William and Marlborough, the philosophy of Locke and others, and the free speech attained, carried similar ideas to the continent, so that all western Europe was sown with the seeds of rights that ever since have been yielding their beneficent fruit to God's children. England became Europe's educator. Yet the negro slave had no apostle of his rights among the clergy or leading Christian people.

All the sects were inactive. Doubtless in no age following the Reformation was religious life so dull. In the Established Church the large number of cures

not affording more than fifty pounds a year kept able men from the ministry. No great prelates led the clergy of lower grades. These men gradually fell into the contempt of the advancing intelligence of the people, who came to honor Hoadly in his aggressive advance. Satirists made the condition of the Establishment the butt of their jokes. After the House of Hanover ascended the throne the old doctrine of the divine right of kings fell out of clerical contention. Says one:

“The strength of the church party in England was the most serious danger which threatened the parliamentary institutions of England.”

But valuable additions were made to literature, since some of the quiet parishes and well-paid offices afforded the clerics leisure and support, enabling them to spend much time in productive study.

So severely were the laws against Catholics pressed that most of them had fled to the continent, establishing seminaries in Spain, Portugal, Flanders, France, and Italy to educate their children and priests. By a law of George First two justices of the peace might at any time and without previous complaint tender the oath of allegiance and of abjuration to any Catholic, who, if he refused, was liable to all the penalties of recusancy. This law was made an instrument of private hatred and revenge. Mobs sometimes wrecked the chapels of the papists and howled at them when carried as prisoners through the streets. For enlisting as soldiers they could be punished. In 1745, when the order was given to hunt out all Jesuits and

priests, a protest was put in by the Catholic continental nations, to which the Secretary of State replied by stating the fears arising from their increase. From the Reformation to the Revolution, and after, the only recourse of the Catholics was to submit in fear and silence and leave to historians of a calmer age the duty of vindicating their reputation. A bill was passed to naturalize the Jews, but was repealed after a year, so great was the cry from Churchmen that it was an abandonment of Christianity.

A curious episode occurred in 1709. One Sacheverell, a royal chaplain of no marked ability was sent to preach before the Lord Mayor and aldermen at St. Paul's, as he had previously done at the assizes. In these sermons he attacked the Whig administration vehemently, denounced toleration, renewed the doctrine of non-resistance, declared the church in danger from Dissenters, and like most Christian people deplored the age of scepticism. The Lord Mayor had the St. Paul's sermon printed, and immediately arose a vast commotion. So intense grew the uproar that the Whig Ministry decided that Sacheverell should be impeached. To this act the Commons proceeded. Rash was the step, for the clergy, having at their back the great majority of the nation, made Sacheverell a hero, as did the mobs. Amidst a whirl of wildest noise and partisanship the trial went on, but all the penalty inflicted was that he should not preach or receive a benefice for three years, be imprisoned for three months, and have the fateful sermons burned by the hangman. Out of prison, making a progress from town to town he received the parade of a con-

queror. An election soon following, a strong Tory house was returned, the trial of the obscure priest having cost the Whigs the control of national matters.

On Anne's accession the Episcopalians in Scotland, knowing her love for that church, were highly elated, but a Parliament formed in William's time held over. This body defended Presbytery. The Scot Parliament ratified by a large majority an act of 1689 making it high treason to alter by writing or speech the Claim of Right which denounced Episcopacy as unsupportably grievous to Scotland. By this act if any Episcopalian should stand up for his own views he would run the risk of being hung and quartered. As late as 1746 the Episcopalians were subjected to most distressing laws of restriction. Such extreme positions were really in accord with the extreme views of a vast number of the Scots.

Hardly less were the Catholics hated, though some powerful families of that faith were able to shield their fellow believers, while the Highlanders were wholly Catholic. Among these one small seminary for educating priests was kept up. In Edinburgh even vestments and altar trinkets were searched for and burned, and three priests found hiding were imprisoned. As the union with England was under discussion great fear arose lest after the union, the Anglicans predominating, the British Parliament would set up the Establishment in Scotland, so the Scot commissioners made it a point that the united Parliament should establish Presbytery as the mode of church government in Scotland forever. This was

fully allowed. Each people was to retain its own chosen way of church government.

When the plans for union were completed and in London a great spectacular demonstration was taking place, in Scotland, by a plan of the clergy who had always opposed the union, it was made a day of national mourning to propitiate Deity who was deemed to be punishing the Scot people for their sins. But the union brought immense benefits to Scotland. The Presbytery established, and free trade with England gained, the hatred of long generations gradually gave way and Scotland was given an impulse along the highways of wealth, culture, religious progress and personal improvement, such as has seldom visited a nation. Along with other progress was a most important evangelical movement under Erskine beginning in 1733, similar to that in England under the Wesleys. Whitefield fraternized and worked with this movement when on his famous preaching tours.

During the first half of the eighteenth century the religious condition of Ireland was most deplorable. Unfortunately when the Bible was translated into English at the time of the Reformation it was not done in the language of the Irish. On the island the Anglican Church was by law in power, yet could extend its power over but a limited part of the country, being confined to the so-called Pale, a strip on the Irish Sea contiguous to England. The Scot Presbyterians dominated in Ulster, and the Catholics everywhere else outside the Pale. These three forms of religious practice could by no means endure one another. Many French Huguenots fled to Ireland,

conforming in most instances to the Anglican ritual. They set up schools and established important manufactures of linen, silks and so on, bringing wealth and valuable influences to the country.

The penal laws laid on Ireland in William's time were kept in operation now, notwithstanding the treaty of Limerick, and these, with other repressive laws, hit hard upon the Presbyterians as well as the Catholics. But the stout Scot spirit could ill brook such indignities. In religious matters the Presbyterians were active, occupying parishes deserted by the Anglicans, sending missionaries among the Irish, in time of war heartily joining the English. But in the early Hanover dynasty a dark wave of impiety and scepticism spread over these people; infidel clubs arose, education and divine worship were neglected, while Sabbath breaking, gaming, profanity and drunkenness, increased.

The story of the Catholics during this time is one of the blackest of any people in modern ages. Both at home and in Ireland the English were mortally afraid of them. And there were some reasons. Their hearty support of James Second, their course toward Protestants on the continent, the plots and emissaries in England, could not but engender such suspicions. Hence the course the English government pursued was always repressive. Indeed the great officers declared that the laws did not suppose any such person as an Irish Catholic to exist. Being denied school teachers of their own as well as the universities and the privilege of sending their children abroad for education, the native Irish lapsed into a

most brutal and ignorant condition. The Quakers of England had in their noble spirit gone in Cromwell's time as missionaries, and their work of preaching, exhorting and winning the people to better ways had existed to this time. But their results were small.

To celebrate mass Irish priests had been compelled to register, and this to the number of a thousand they did. Later the oath of allegiance was demanded, followed by that of abjuration, which repudiated the Stuart dynasty as well as some of the central dogmas of Catholicism. Farther on the whole hierarchy, archbishops, bishops, deans, priests, were ordered out of the country with a penalty of death for treason if they returned. Friars were under similar penalty. But enforce the laws as the English might, brave bishops and priests passed among their people, hiding in their huts, skulking in the forests and bogs. To allure the Catholics from their faith, offers of protection, of place, of money, were made, but coaxing was as futile as compulsion. In time the English found the utter futility of such measures to make the Catholics become Protestants and by very neglect some mitigation came.

The sceptical movement in England formed no small part in the religious life of the nation. Lord Herbert claimed that religion was founded not upon revelation but upon immediate consciousness of God and divine things, declaring with the Quakers and some other Dissenters that an internal light was superior to a revelation. Even if a revelation was given to man, Lord Herbert said, no one could suc-

cessfully transfer it to another man. He believed in a God whom men ought to reverence and worship, in holiness of life and repentance of sin, with rewards and punishments after death. His prayer offered about publishing one of his books and the answer he believed he had to it are most delightful and simple. The roots of his teaching and that of Hobbes ran back centuries. Hobbes was a giant thinker whose greatest book, "The Leviathan," treated of religion, philosophy and politics. Sustaining the Stuarts in their claim to despotic royalty, he tried to block progress and freedom. For a while he was the tutor of Charles Second at Paris. Great excitement arose over the discussions of his theories, it being said that in every tavern and coffee house, in Westminster Hall, and even in the churches he was hotly talked about. Locke's teachings were somewhat like those of Hobbes. But the works of Francis Bacon, also written along this period, were of high religious cast and influence. He went directly to nature to learn by experiment what was taught. The Inductive Philosophy was devout, making no real attack upon Christianity.

Still the sceptical movement gained momentum. Montesquieu visiting England wrote, "Everyone laughs if one talks religion." Voltaire, also in England, said that only enough religion was left in that country to distinguish the Tories who had little from Whigs who had less. Swift's satire, termed "Abolishing Dissenters," was not too severe a cut.

The name Deism was given to this sceptical drift. It was not so much irreligious as an attempt to find



religion outside of the Bible. It claimed a pure, primitive religion among mankind before revelation. Bishop Berkeley of Cloyne, an ardent pupil of Locke, wrote books helping to a higher philosophic insight and a better religious spirit.

A prominent school of Deist writers arose, whose books met with instant and able replies from well equipped clergy and others. Charles Blount, John Toland, Anthony Collins, Thomas Woolston, Matthew Tindal, Thomas Chubb, and Lord Shaftesbury attacked the Bible and Christianity on various grounds.

Since Paul and Jesus departed wholly from that part of the Scriptures, the burden of Thomas Magan's writings was against the Old Testament. In Lord Bolingbroke's attack upon the Bible he charged Jesus with giving equivocal answers to the Jews and with keeping them in error. God was so elevated that he could not be an example to man. David Hume, the historian, urged that "beyond the uniform succession of sensible phenomena there is nothing proved of self, of God, or of moral government." His famous argument against miracles rests on the relation of testimony to experience. By experience we see the uniformity of nature, as is true of the reliableness of testimony to experience. As these balance each other, we cannot believe a miracle. Hume repudiated the name of being an infidel or a Deist, and in his later life leaned more and more toward views held by church people. Gibbon, possibly the greatest historian of our race, closed alike the school of sceptics and the eighteenth century. While in college he

accepted the Catholic belief, but later, as he pursued his extensive historical studies, turned from it. He failed to see the vast superiority of Christianity to the imperfect systems of religion that he treated in his "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." Like Hume, in his later years he saw better things in Christianity.

The whole sceptical movement died for lack of truth in it. Its many positions were so ably attacked by Bentley, Paley, Doddridge, Chandler, Leland, by Butler in his immortal book, "The Analogy of Revealed Religions," and by others that it was certain to die. These had truth and ability and culture on their side. But its teachings taken to the continent, led to disaster in French politics and in German theology. And the most effective answer to it all was the rise of Methodism in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

## CHAPTER XXXIII

"Wesleyanism has acted as a cement of the English-speaking race and thereby contributed materially toward the solution of the supreme political problems of our times. The Wesley brothers, who founded the Methodist polity, are a more living force to-day, constraining the minds of the English-speaking men to brotherly feeling and a sense of national unity, than the Wellesleys, although the Wellesleys reared the Indian Empire and crushed the empire of Napoleon."

—W. T. STEAD.

The latter part of the eighteenth century was ennobled by the Methodist movement. First of all Methodism was a revival. While its doctrines had been taught more or less fully before its rise, and some of its plans of organization had been used by the societies of the preceding century and by the Moravians, its spirit was a renewal. Both the Wesleys and Whitefield were ardent churchmen, but the Church did not see its opportunity to keep the new spirit within itself and use it. A like mistake was also made when Puritanism was thrust out of the Anglican Church. Unity of doctrine, ritual, plans of work, have been found impossible in Protestantism. Freedom has nurtured wider opportunities. Man is a free being, each finding it his joy to pursue paths of his own selection. In such paths he can best work for himself and others. It was these rights that the little knot of Oxford students sought when they formed the Holy Club.

As they studied the Greek Testament, did good

works, frequented the church and communion, lived in ways methodical, they well earned the nickname of Methodists. Their plan, like the mustard seed of the parable, had rich, expansive life. John Wesley, by his supreme administrative ability, easily became the leader. He did not find his true vocation until through the teachings of the Moravians a strange warming of his heart took place in the little gathering at Aldersgate Street Church that memorable day, May 24, 1738. At that hour an impulse was given to the great heart of one having a masterful intellect, which was to change profoundly the Anglo-Saxon religious life. A similar uplift of soul about the same time had come to Charles Wesley and to Whitefield, the revival work of the three being mostly united at that time.

Their preaching and intensity aroused the sleeping churches of London that did not like to be aroused, so they were quickly closed to the stirring evangelists. But the neglected masses of the people would listen and heed. If the new preachers could not speak in the churches, they could appeal to the crowds gathered on the hillsides and in the natural amphitheatres of Cornwall and on the heaths about London. The people of England were ready for advance in religion if it could be offered them in a direct, hearty manner. This the new preaching did. John Wesley at first shrank from outdoor preaching, thinking, with his high church notions, that it would be almost a sin for one to be saved outside a church. But under the successful example of Whitefield he quickly yielded his scruples, taking to field-preaching

himself. From the coalpits of Cornwall the people came to listen, to be so awakened to their sins as to fall to weeping, the tears making white gutters down their faces through the grime.

These awakened masses needed pastoral care such as they were not likely to get in the churches, either from the Establishment or among the nonconformists. Led in what seemed to Wesley, as it must to the student of history, the most clearly providential ways Wesley began organizing the converts into societies and classes for prayer, study and mutual encouragement, by which these people had pastoral care under the eye of chosen leaders and the tireless evangelists. Soon chapels had to be erected, the first one being at Bristol. These were not Dissenter chapels, but were claimed by the Wesleys and Whitefield to be additions to the Established Church accommodations. All his life Wesley insisted upon no separation from the Anglican Church, but his ordaining men later without being himself a prelate meant, in the dictum of Chief Justice Mansfield, such a separation.

Of the three, Whitefield was the most popular, eloquent preacher. He stirred the aristocracy as well as the peasantry. The philosophic Hume and the cool-blooded Franklin were alike moved and charmed. Bolingbroke and Pitt listened to his fiery sermons. Through all classes the revival was going on. Gross sins became less common, Sabbath desecration and drunkenness lessened. The historian Green thinks that the career of Pitt, the great victories of sea and land, must yield "in real importance to that religious revolution which shortly before had begun in Eng-

land by the preaching of the Wesleys and Whitefield." William Pitt joined hands with Wesley to aid the advance of the nation toward better things.

The Wesleys were sons of a high church rector, himself a son of a dissenting clergyman. Their mother was the daughter of a Puritan minister, Dr. Annesley, who in her young years, deliberately decided to go with the Established Church. Having been given a thorough education, and being of an independent spirit, she was the wise, progressive mother of that remarkable family, for genius marked other members of it besides John and Charles. These two leaders of Methodism could look to their talented mother as the real founder of the movement, for she taught them in the Epworth parsonage many of the traits of character and spirit that distinguished their lives. She gave them cheer and counsel even to her death at an extreme old age. It is the old story of the mother making the man. Yet the father of the Wesleys was an able rector, a writer and a poet. John, graduating from Christ's College, Oxford, in 1723, for his fine scholarship was elected to a Fellowship in Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1726. Crisp sayings pointing to his high purpose are preserved in his voluminous journals and elsewhere. When urged to settle down to the use of his Fellowship or to take a parish, he uttered that memorable saying which appears on the memorial tablet in Westminster Abbey: "I consider the whole world my parish." His broad catholicity found expression in this, "I desire to have a league offensive and defensive

with every soldier of Christ." He possessed a keen insight in business matters, holding to three rules, "Gain all you can, save all you can, give all you can." When he had an income of thirty pounds a year he lived on twenty-eight, giving away two pounds; as his income increased, he still lived on twenty-eight pounds a year and gave the remainder away. When because of the wars taxation was heavy, silver plate was taxed, and the officer, thinking a man so prominent as Wesley must have large quantities, demanded of him a return of his riches, Wesley responded: "Sir, I have two silver teaspoons at London and two at Bristol. This is all the plate I have at present and I shall not buy any more while so many around me want bread."

Wesley's great administrative ability, rated by Lord Macaulay as not inferior to that French marvel, Richelieu, found full scope in the evolution of the new sect. The three leaders had been ordained in the Anglican Church, but their new evangel led most of the clergy, from bishops down to obscure curates, to oppose and persecute. The Methodists were subjected to the grossest insults and violent abuse. To guide a great national revival to success through these obstacles was a herculean task, but it was successfully done. Itinerating from London to Bristol, to Newcastle, and in time over all Wales, then to Scotland and finally to Ireland, not in the age of transit, these three evangelists reached their societies summer and winter, organized new ones, did pastoral work from house to house, preached incessantly, met

the classes, and sifting out the vicious and backslidden, encouraged the faithful and gathered in the converts.

As the work enlarged, Wesley saw the need of conferences with his scattered workers, and so called together a few to discuss means and doctrines. Such conferences, increasing in size and importance, were held through his whole life. In this way he originated that valuable gathering of toilers which has become a peculiar mark of Methodism.

Wesley's activities were beyond comprehension. His itinerating over the three kingdoms for more than fifty years caused him to ride, mostly on horseback, more than a quarter million miles. He read many books as he journeyed along and kept up great literary activity along with his incessant care of the societies and churches. He wrote notes on the New Testament and prepared text-books for schools. He projected and carried to completion a Christian Library of eighty volumes in which he selected, edited, and compressed the best English writings in all fields of research. In later life he founded the Arminian Magazine, filling its issues with valuable material growing out of the expanding work. He married at forty-eight, after two or three disagreeable love affairs, to find at that advanced age he had married one not able to sympathize with him in his work, whether religious, intellectual or social. She became jealous of his intimate correspondence with others, interrupted it, opened his letters, and is said to have proceeded even to personal violence.

The teachings used by these revivalists were simple,



practical and of the Bible. In a defense Wesley defined a Methodist thus:

"One who has the love of God shed abroad in his heart by the Holy Ghost given to him, who loves the Lord his God with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his mind, and with all his strength. He rejoices evermore, prays without ceasing, and in everything gives thanks. His heart is full of love to all mankind, his one desire of life to do the will of God. He keeps God's commandments, does not fare sumptuously, does not lay up treasures on earth, nor adorn himself with costly apparel, shuns vice, speaks no evil of his neighbor, but does good to all men."

Penance, ritualism, purgatory, were by these preachers consigned to limbo. A distinctive teaching was that of the Witness of the Holy Spirit. They urged that if one was converted his new relation to the Heavenly Father was made known to him, the Spirit bearing witness with his spirit that he was a child of God. This rich doctrine, in books before, was now first made common to the people. Now the English masses learned that if God pardoned their sins, he would show that release to them. This is perhaps one of the most distinctive results of the Methodist movement.

Some twenty years after the inception of this revival the experience of Perfect Love, or Christian Perfection, sprang up spontaneously among the Methodists. While not altogether new, it had never been brought to the comprehension of the people. Wesley watched this movement with his usual discrim-

ination, conferring with those professing it, and directing its development. After a time he put forth a pamphlet, in which he gave the statement concerning this enlargement of Bible insight: "Loving God with all our heart, mind and strength. This implies that no wrong temper remains in the soul, and that all the thoughts, words and actions are governed by pure love." Some enthusiastically declared that they were perfect in all things, but against this folly Wesley contended, claiming that one was still liable to ignorance and mistakes. Not absolute perfection, but Christian perfection was the claim. Not the perfection of Adam before his fall, or of angels, he taught, but the perfection in love, of fallible man.

The revival grew. Everywhere the tireless preachers went, their audiences gradually changed from howling mobs to increasing masses of respectful, eager listeners. One need was to supply the increasing work with preachers. The three leaders, with four or five clergy sometimes associated with them, could by no means meet the demands. Among those appointed leaders of classes and bands were found uneducated men who had learned the Bible well and whose skill in teaching the way of salvation to their rude listeners made them marked men. From teaching those small groups, like Wesley's mother at Epworth, they soon found themselves waited upon by much enlarged audiences. Should the Methodist leaders set these men to preaching? To do so they had no recent precedent or any church authority. At this time of uncertainty Susanna Wesley, so wise and deep-souled, wrote to her son of Maxfield:

"John, take care what you do with respect to that young man, for he is surely called of God to preach as you are. Examine what have been the fruits of his preaching."

Plans of preaching to the newly organized societies were made, to which these lay preachers were sent. Wesley was not without historical instances in the far past. Wyclif had sent out his "Poor Preachers, men of the people to the people." Farther back still the Friars of the thirteenth century had done work all over England similar to this now beginning. Crude was the preaching of these laymen, but effective in leading the people to forsake their sins and alluring to pure, unselfish lives. These men under Wesley's direction studied hard, becoming proficient in theology and other fields. The revival touched the intellect of England. Not a few of the lay preachers became able pulpit orators. John Nelson, the stone mason, thrilled thousands with his burning eloquence, and the converted saddlemaker, Samuel Bradburn, rapt crowds by his preaching.

The relation of Methodism to the Anglican Church was a burning one, being debated at the conferences and elsewhere. Both Wesleys insisted that the Methodists attend its services, while their own services must be held at hours different from the Establishment. For a long time Whitefield and the Countess of Huntingdon held to the same way, but before Whitefield's death had by legal action put themselves outside that church. The Methodists began to wish to have the Holy Communion administered by their

own preachers instead of being compelled to go before clergymen of questionable life for it. Wesley, having become convinced that presbyters and bishops were of the same ecclesiastical order, decided he was as truly entitled to ordain men as any of the English prelates. This opinion Charles Wesley hotly combated. But John, quietly taking the matter into his own hands, ordained Dr. Coke to be superintendent of Methodism in America and several others to administer the sacrament in Scotland and in England. It was because of this act that Lord Mansfield decided that Wesley had severed himself from the Anglican Church. But Wesley did not think so, deeming himself to the day of his death a dutiful son of the mother church.

Charles Wesley, like his older brother, was a stirring, popular preacher, crowds waiting on his public work. An Oxford graduate, he was earlier in the Holy Club than John and had been ordained by an English prelate. He easily took to the field like his fellow evangelists. Like them, this finely strung nature was compelled to meet mobs, to be stoned, befouled, misrepresented. With the others he became a tireless itinerant. Always of the same spirit that moved him in the Holy Club, he visited the jails and prisons throughout his whole life, his last publication put forth but three years before his death being "Prayers for Condemned Malefactors." Successful as he was as a preacher, his grandest help to the revival must be set down to his hymns. All the leaders quickly saw the power in popular singing. The poetic genius of the Wesley family found its richest

fruitage in Charles, though several others were similarly endowed.

George Whitefield was easily the orator of the new religious life, although neither so profound or executive as Wesley. Few men in all the Christian church have possessed such high powers of public speaking. Of humble origin, he worked his way through college, was one of the Holy Club at Oxford, and while very young obtained ordination. Soon the churches of the large cities and towns were closed to his eloquent preaching, but already crowds began collecting when it was known that he was to speak; hence he would preach to them wherever he could. Thus field preaching began. Whitefield rose to sublime oratory when such masses waited upon him. Whitefield followed the predestination teachings of Calvin, then dominant in the Anglican Church. To this dark doctrine Wesley objected, following rather the teachings of the Dutch theologian, Arminius, that man is free, not under the law of necessity, and that salvation is fully offered to all. Both Wesley and Whitefield being deep-souled Englishmen, these differences of doctrine could not fail to tax their love for each other. Still in Christian fellowship each went on his chosen way. Up and down England Whitefield went, arousing the wildest enthusiasm. England was too small for his activities, so he passed to Scotland and Ireland and across the sea to America, and everywhere masses came to hearken and to amend their ways.

When soliciting funds for an orphan asylum which he founded in Georgia his persuasive powers were curiously shown. The close-fisted Franklin

emptied his pockets, regretting he had no more to give. The nobility of England poured out golden sovereigns. On one such occasion the copper coins contributed by the poor had to be carried away by the half-bushel. If fashionable crowds waited upon him, however, mobs pelted him with rotten eggs, stones, dead cats, and sometimes tried to drown his voice with drums and other noise. In connection with the Countess of Huntingdon and others he founded the sect of Calvinistic Methodism, mostly in Wales. This stream, alongside that distinctly Arminian, possibly gave larger success to the whole movement. Whitefield was in more sympathetic relations with the nonconformist bodies than the Wesleys. In his earlier labors Wesley was too close a churchman to fraternize much with them. In 1770 Whitefield died of exhaustion at Newburyport, Massachusetts, his bones now lying under the pulpit of the Federal Street Church. At his death a race mourned his passing.

## CHAPTER XXXIV

In the early part of the eighteenth century all the denominations in England needed the vivifying shock of the Methodist movement. Still a few names shine above the spiritual horizon. Isaac Watts, an Independent minister of London, is remembered for his rich, strong hymns. It is said that when a young minister he complained to a meeting of his fellow preachers the lack of good hymns. The retort was made, "Give us something better, young man." He did. Watts is justly distinguished as the father of modern hymnology. His life, extending to near the middle of the century, was one of physical suffering, sometimes of mental anguish, but through it all prolific of good works. He divided that century of hymn-writing with Charles Wesley, and so well did each of these masters work that their spiritual songs still outnumber in the various church hymnals those of any other author. Watts, declared by Montgomery to be the inventor of hymns in the English tongue, doubtless surpasses in sublimity of thought and sweep of wide vision his compeer, who in his turn surpasses Watts in expressing God's love to fallen man. That Pantheon of English authors, Westminster Abbey, justly has a monument to this great Dissenter. His hymns express many shades of devotion.

"From all that dwell below the skies"

"Great God attend while Zion sings"

"Sweet is the work, my God, my King"

"Am I a soldier of the cross"

"Joy to the world, the Lord is come"

"Welcome, sweet day of rest"

"Salvation, O the joyful sound"

"Show pity, Lord, O Lord, forgive"

"Alas and did my Savior bleed"

"Jesus shall reign where'er the sun"

"The heavens declare thy glory, Lord"

"Why do we mourn departing friends"

"There is a land of pure delight"

Another great hymn writer, Philip Doddridge, was contemporary with Watts and like him an Independent minister. Indeed, nearly all the soul lyrics of that century were composed by men in the dissenting sects. As a hymn writer Doddridge should be put in a lower place than Watts or Charles Wesley, but his work will live. He was instrumental in establishing an academy for the education of dissenting ministers, being tutor in that at the same time that he was pastor of a large church at Northampton. His double labors wore him out before his time and brought death at the age of forty-nine. His hymns, usually composed upon some Scripture passage, were sung by his congregation at the time of his delivering the sermon on that text. Like others of that period his hymns cover many phases of the spiritual life.



"How gentle God's commands"

"I'll drop my burden at his feet"

"Hark the glad sound! The Savior comes"

"Grace! 'Tis a charming sound"

"O happy day that fixed my choice"

"Awake, my soul, stretch every nerve"

For a decade of years Charles Wesley was writing hymns contemporary with Watts and Doddridge. Watts was a hearty admirer of the young poet, saying of "Wrestling Jacob" that it was worth all the verses that he himself had written. He was immensely prolific, his own poems and those of his brother John, who excelled in the translation of German and Latin hymns, being compiled in thirteen volumes. Besides these printed ones it is said that two thousand still exist in manuscript, Charles having written six thousand in all. Out of those printed, time has sifted hundreds of the best, which as helps to many shades of devotion, appear destined to live on in the coming centuries. His hymns were composed in all sorts of places and under every imaginable condition of work and impulse of brain and heart. Of that most popular hymn, "Jesus, Lover of My Soul," it is commonly said that he composed it in a spring house, when hiding with his brother from a mob. More probable is the suggestion that a stormy experience on the Atlantic when going to Georgia with General Oglethorpe gave him the thought. Being set to easy popular music, another rich fact of the evan-

gelical renaissance, the hymns were sung by the great audiences waiting on the evangelist as well as at firesides and in humble chapels. They are still sung, like those of Watts, as widely as goes the English tongue. The race can never let such soul songs as these perish:

"Jesus, lover of my soul"

"O for a thousand tongues to sing"

"Depth of mercy! Can there be"

"Father, I stretch my hands to thee"

"Arise, my soul, arise"

"A charge to keep I have"

"Come, O thou Traveler unknown"

"Servant of God, well done"

The early part of the century saw several books of sacred songs issued and used. Nonconformists and Anglicans had before clung closely to the use of Psalms for devotional singing, various renderings of these having been given out. Now there came a gradual use of other songs. Some of the poems of one Norris were set to music and used so much that in 1730 a tenth edition was demanded, giving a pleasant glimpse of the people's devotion.

In 1700 Bishop Ken, a man of sweetest spirit, one of the Nonjurors, gave to the world the "Evening Hymn" and "Morning Hymn":

"Glory to thee, my God, this night"

"Awake, my soul, and with the sun"

Anne Steele, the daughter of a Baptist minister, wrote many hymns, some of which still lend their comfort:

"Come ye that love the Savior's name"

"Father, whate'er of earthly bliss"

Out of Addison's *Spectator* have been transferred to the hymn books ever since his time several of his exquisitely expressed hymns:

"When all thy mercies, O my God"

"The spacious firmament on high"

Later in the century, after the revival was in full sweep, a valuable issue of hymns then widely sung and still used in part, came out under the name of Olney Hymns, thus named because most were written on the Olney parish. Its minister was John Newton, whose loyalty to Christ, after conversion from a very vicious life, was of a piece with his former wickedness. Cowper and Newton made the Olney Hymns immortal. The following popular and valuable hymns are from that collection:

"God moves in a mysterious way"

"There is a fountain filled with blood"

"O for a closer walk with God"

"Glorious things of thee are spoken"

Samuel Stennett, a dissenting minister in London, also wrote hymns at that time which have been and are widely sung.

“Majestic sweetness sits enthroned”

“On Jordan’s stormy banks I stand”

Other great hymns were composed during that period, single ones of precious worth enough to keep the author’s memory immortal and to carry choice benefactions down the ages. Such was Pope’s ode, “The Dying Christian to His Soul,” and Thomas Oliver’s “God of Abraham,” which was set to music and sung by the Jews in London.

Edward Perronet, a friend of the Wesleys and a dissenting minister, will never be forgotten for having given to mankind “All Hail the Power of Jesus’ name.”

Augustus Toplady, a contemporary but an opponent of the Wesleys, will live in men’s gratitude for one hymn,—“Rock of Ages Cleft for Me.”

The hymns composed and popularly sung in any epoch deeply affect the social, intellectual and moral life, as well as politics and religion. History has instances of the power of ballads and patriotic songs to revive and inspire, and here in the eighteenth century can easily be seen the elevating power of popular, widely sung spiritual songs. The masses were touched with the sense of fellowship, forsook their vices, and learned spiritual truths of high value. Besides reaching the masses their priceless worth has enriched religion and

added to the value and perpetuation of high literature.

The church party, deeming all dissent to harbor disloyalty, explains the opposition of the clergy, the opinion of statesmen, and the brutality of the mobs. Doubtless the union of church and state at that time gave a sacred sanction of the laws, in this way being beneficial to the nation. The worth of a regular system of parishes covering, at least in theory, the whole land, each one supplied with an educated man as rector or curate to direct the worship of so large a share of the people, to baptize, marry and bury them, could not fail of being very great. Formally, at least, the religious life found constant expression. Inscribed over the door of the Bank of England is "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof." The marble floor of St. George's Hall, Liverpool, has in the mosaics in Latin, "From God We Received all this Health and Greatness."

By the middle of the century the evangelical movement in the Established Church was fairly started. Of course the foremost influence in this was the Methodist movement. In addition a few intense clergymen, deploring the general laxity of religion everywhere, determined to do all they could to remedy the sad condition. Advance and reform were in the air. John Fletcher by his brilliancy as a writer and debater, became the able defender of Wesley's teachings. Fletcher's checks to Antinomianism had possibly more to do in relegating Calvin's monstrous tenets to the dust heap than any other writings ever produced. Associated with the evangelical move-

ment were prominent people, William Wilberforce in his magnificent contention with human slavery, Sir Richard Hill, Lady Huntingdon and others of nobility and wealth. Lord Dartmouth, who founded a great college in the colonies, was an out-and-out Methodist, working with all the promoters of the forward movement. Hannah More and later Elizabeth Fry, each in her own sphere of kindly deeds, were fellow workers with the noble people for the good of Englishmen. Lecky says of the Evangelicals:

"They infused into the English Church a new fire and passion of devotion, kindled a fervent spirit of philanthropy, raised the standard of clerical duty and completely altered the whole tone and tendency of the preaching of the ministers. Before the close of the century the evangelical movement had become the almost undisputed center of religious activity in England, and it continued so until the rise of the Tractarian movement of 1833."

In spite of this spirit many of the parishes and dioceses were sadly neglected. May says of the clergy in his "Constitutional History":

"They farmed, shot the squire's partridges, drank port wine, played cards, but did little to search out the needs of their flocks."

One church historian says:

"The spiritual courts were the curse of the poor, the jest of the rich, and the abhorrence of the wise and good even among the clergy themselves."

Owing to the rapid increase of population at this time, a problem was presented which the national church was ill prepared to meet. The use of machinery in manufactures drew into the industrial centers crowds of workmen and their families and it was soon found impossible to offer to these masses church accommodations. The Methodists and Non-conformists, by quickly building cheap meeting-houses, were supplying the need in part, these manufacturing towns becoming centers of dissent and social unrest. Soon half the parishes besides their Anglican Church had one or more dissenting chapels. Nor were the universities where the higher education of the nation centered, a whit above the condition of the ruling classes. Neglect of teaching until the professors gave up the pretense of doing so, neglect of study and examinations, marked the life of both great schools. Gibbon declared that his time in college was the most unprofitable of his life, finding there ignorance, vice, idleness and infidelity.

Even before the Wesleys and Whitefield had entered upon their revival successes a similar revival had begun in Wales. Griffith Jones, a clergyman of the Established Church, aroused by the needs of the masses, preaching widely, called the people, like another John the Baptist to repentance and a new life. Of course he broke the rules of decorum and good church discipline, for which he was repeatedly tried before the ecclesiastical courts. But nothing could stop him. One of his methods to overcome the gross ignorance of the people was to found circulating schools, the schoolmasters going like itin-

erants from place to place, holding the schools for a few weeks and then passing on. In these schools, besides the rudiments, the people were taught to read the Bible in Welsh, Bibles for this purpose being supplied by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. In a short time Jones had hundreds of schools and thousands of pupils. To supply teachers he opened a normal school into which only religious persons were admitted. At his death, 1761, he left no less than 3495 schools with 150,000 pupils.

Not long after this movement began, another man, Howell Harris, became associated with Jones in his revival work. Harris had been at Oxford, but left in disgust and, layman as he was, began preaching all over Wales justification by faith, declaring against the evils present, raising great excitement and facing murderous mobs. As the Methodists came into the principality they encouraged and aided these men, while some noble-spirited Anglican ministers also helped them. Daniel Rowland's name shines among this class of helpers. People would go sixty or a hundred miles to hear him preach. Yet with all the good he did he was later ejected from the Anglican ministry. In a few years the revival took organized form in the Calvinistic Methodist Church there, of which he was made superintendent. Whitefield and the Countess Huntingdon were active and efficient in this organization. Nonconformity soon stood ahead of other denominations in Wales.

In Scotland as well as in Wales and England a revival arose spontaneously among workers. Before the great revivalists of England visited Scot-



land some of the Presbyterian ministers were aroused, going over the country as heralds of the new evangel. Among others were the two Erskine brothers and a minister named Robe. People fell to the earth in startling convulsions, screaming, weeping, praying. Usually when these phenomena ended it was to find the subjects happy and praising God, and hearty service for God afterwards marked them.

The revival marked an era in the religious life of Scotland. Family and church worship was set up, the young were led to earnestness of action and vice lessened. But the English revivalists were not heartily received, John Wesley complaining in his journal of the coldness of his reception by both ministers and people. Only a few Methodist societies were formed in Scotland. Still respectful crowds attended the field-preaching of Whitefield. One evening he preached to thousands till eleven o'clock, at another time the masses listening to him stayed an hour past midnight. In such gatherings prayer and praise could be heard in all parts of the fields.

The religious condition of Ireland during the latter half of the eighteenth century, while presenting proofs of progress, was most deplorable. The Establishment was the only church recognized by law. A pamphlet written in 1760 said that sixteen hundred of its churches were in ruins, six hundred others standing ready to fall, and there were only five hundred fifty Anglican clergy in Ireland, these being mostly curates with pay at forty pounds a year. The Methodists visited the island and introduced more liberal sentiments. The Moravians and Pala-

tines from the continent also had busy people and thoughtful preaching in their colonies. A wider diffusion of knowledge and general spirit of tolerance were effectively reducing objections to religious rights. Several converted Irishmen were teaching and preaching in the native tongue, Graham and Ouseley being able to do this work. One itinerant, John McBurney, was set upon by the mob, beaten, trampled under foot and so injured that in a few days he died. He was the first Methodist martyr. England's need of soldiers for the American War of Independence and the French Revolution moved the king and statesmen to more liberal motives. Laws were neglected and penalties winked at. The government, having created a Catholic diocese at Quebec and mitigated greatly the laws against English Catholics, was disposed, as the years passed, to grant relief to the Irish Catholics.

As the century passed toward its close a patriotic movement was joined with the religious. To guard the country from French invasion volunteer corps were formed; these, when armed and drilled, conveyed to the Irish a sense of their power, and in 1782 demands were made by delegates from these armed men for civil freedom, the rights of private judgment in religion were urged, and the uplift of oppressive laws from the Catholics commended. Wolfe Tone, in 1791, founded the Society of United Irishmen composed of both Catholics and Protestants, aiming among other things at equal representation in the Irish Parliament. A few years later a Relief Bill gave certain franchises permitting Catholics to

bear arms, granting freedom in property and allowing the Catholic youth to attend colleges. In Ulster province the Protestants formed the Orangemen's Associations to expel Catholics, engendering intense, lasting hatred and causing much suffering. When in 1800 union was made with Great Britain, and the Irish by that union became citizens of that country, a vast gain in privileges was obtained.

The soul hunger of the people as the decades came and went was being met by a great variety of means. The leaders of the Methodist movement exerted a profound influence everywhere over the three nations. Nonconformists grew more intense. The evangelical party in the Anglican Church also crowded for better conditions. The reflex influence upon the mother country of the colonies in America in their tremendous struggle for independence and in the great liberal commonwealth they established, holding so many things free which the advanced thought of England had longed for,—free speech, free press, free churches, full franchise, and many other rights,—profoundly affected for better things still the home section of the Anglo-Saxon race. When George Third came to the throne in 1760 his deep piety, fidelity to his wife, opposition to immorality, and constant attendance upon religious services stood in hopeful contrast to the morals of his father. He was resigned under misfortunes, brave, sympathetic with the revival of religion, and pleased with the development of Sunday Schools. He encouraged John Howard in prison reform. It is believed that the great unrest caused in England by the French Revo-

lution and by the writings of Paine and others was allayed by the religious revival. In 1779 a Relief Bill was passed, by which dissenting ministers and students at the universities need not subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles, only declare themselves Protestants and Christians, believers in both the Old and New Testaments. By this act Protestant Dissenters in Ireland were also relieved.

Among the fruits of the revival and evangelical spirit were the labors of Henry Thornton, who in his elegant home at Clapham gathered reformers and philanthropists, making up what has since been known as the Clapham sect. In these gatherings were discussed slavery, peace, toleration, and kindred matters likely to be brought forward at a time of such spiritual renascence. Hamilton took these matters into Parliament. Ministers of the Established Church and Dissenters worked together at Clapham. Here Wilberforce and Clarkson gained cheer and assistance in their long struggle against the slave trade. Here Granville Sharpe was prepared to become president of the first Bible Society. Their organ, *The Christian Observer*, was edited by Zachary Macaulay. Missions were in their plans, Henry Martyn working with John Venn in projecting the Church Missionary Society. To preach to this gathering Whitefield was often called, as was also John Wesley, whose great Catholic spirit and broad vision were of value and encouragement.

## CHAPTER XXXV

The Quakers had long been persistent opposers of the unspeakable slave trade, but money being in its continuance, state and society and church were all deaf to their appeals. As early as 1727 they entered the conflict, never ceasing through the decades. In 1774 David Hartley offered a bill in the Commons that the slave trade was contrary to the laws of God and the rights of man, but it was easily defeated. The same year John Wesley published his tract, "Thoughts on Slavery," giving to the world the famous saying, "It is the sum of all villainies." Pitt and Wesley sustained Wilberforce in his magnificent contention. The horrible insurrection of the negroes in San Domingo scared some of the friends of the movement. The acquisition of England of the West India Islands led to great increase of the lucrative trade. Protests seemed vain. More than fifty thousand negroes a year were carried to the West Indies, the climax being reached in 1786 when ninety-seven thousand of the poor wretches were transported by Christian Englishmen to the atrocities of slavery. Such injustice began opening the eyes of England.

A society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade was organized in London in 1787, at first having but twelve members; among them appear the names of Granville Sharp, Wilberforce, Clarkson and Zachary Macaulay. In 1804 Wilberforce wanted to bring

in a bill to put an end to the slave trade, to which Pitt objected, promising instead a royal proclamation forbidding English ships to bring slaves to the Dutch colonies, but this order did not come out. As Fox came into power he made the abolition of the slave trade one of the foremost pledges of his policy. Not until the Granville ministry in 1807 was the measure carried forbidding British vessels, seamen or capital to be used in the trade.

Another product of the religious revival was the broad purpose and plans to make life more comfortable and elevating to the lower classes of Great Britain. The inventions of Arkwright, Compton and others setting in motion the great streams of modern manufacturing, the life in towns, and the new conditions in many ways caused much distress. Noble philanthropists, however, came forth to meet these conditions. A very angel of mercy in this work was Hannah More, who was led into it by Wilberforce. On moving to her new country home a few miles from Bristol in Gloucester, she found the parishes round about were almost entirely neglected and the people little better than pagans. She set up schools to teach the ignorant, but for such a deed was prosecuted in the ecclesiastical courts. Persisting, she gathered in seven years more than sixteen hundred pupils into her schools, so changing the people by her humane ministries that the assizes, before crowded with cases, now had no crimes to punish. Her works and writings attracted attention at London where she was called to visit, making the acquaintance and winning the sympathy

of Walpole, Dr. Johnson and other notables. Her deeds of kindness were copied widely and multitudes of poor people felt the uplift given.

John Howard's toils in prison reform were of a piece for human good with those of Hannah More. Before his work the condition of England's prisons was vile beyond comprehension. In 1773, having been made High Sheriff of Bedfordshire, he at once took steps to reform the prisons of his own county, and found their condition most astounding. Attention called to these terrible things, an investigation was ordered by Parliament, and Howard's report contained masses of the most horrible facts. Howard died from exposure in Russian prisons in 1790, but the reform did not cease. Out of it have come the admirable condition of jails and prisons, the strict attention paid to the physical and moral condition of the inmates, the deference given their spiritual claims, together with the great efforts made to reform them.

The worth of the evangelical revival through those decades cannot be computed. When the best interests of the people were shot through and through with the teachings of Christianity that progress would be highest and most hopeful. The supreme value of institutions is fully reached when it applies to all the people. In 1779 mass meetings were held giving expression to public opinion and thought similar to those held in the fiery time of Cromwell. One of the petitions was that the American War be stopped. Later the people were asking for reform in Parliament and for representatives from the counties and

from the great cities, London and others. Burke saw there was "a revolution in sentiment, manners and moral aspirations," but was wrong in thinking they were all for the worse. Better things were coming into sight. So strong did the people become in national affairs that Pitt found his real strength lay with them. The attempts of George Third to establish supreme dominance similar to that of the Stuarts were dissipated by this power of the people.

During the American War the feeling of the Brotherhood of man arose more fully than before, for in its clearing vision the Christian consciousness was coalescing with deeper political insight. This high teaching of the New Testament had never, in a country of classes and aristocracy been developed, its awakening now being a boon to all. It lighted the way for the trial of Warren Hastings, in which that unscrupulous East Indian governor and oppressor was shown up by the forensic genius of Edmund Burke. It was Burke's determination and the demand of Englishmen that the same justice be given to the poor Hindu as was accorded by law to the poor Englishman. One result of that trial was to assure British protection to its remotest subject in all parts of its mighty empire. Fox taught British legislators that the colonies, to be best retained as parts of the empire, must be mostly left to govern themselves. Out of this broad truth has come, with other blessings, that of religious liberty in those colonies, growing to greatness ever since in different parts of the world.

Starting in this epoch on the course which ever



since has been of inestimable worth to humanity, was the Sunday School. Robert Raikes is usually credited with originating this movement in 1784, but it is now known that he followed suggestions of what had been already begun. Fourteen years before a Miss Ball of High Wycombe had organized a Sunday School, writing thus to Wesley, "The children meet twice a week every Sunday and Monday." That was in 1770. Even before that date Sunday Schools were begun in America. Another Methodist woman suggested to Raikes that schools could be set up on Sunday to teach the children of their city who were growing up in ignorance and vice. She herself walked to the parish church at the head of the motley mass of children they had collected. Publicity being given to this new form of work, it was at once caught up in many parts of the kingdom. Within two years of the inception of the work Great Britain had two hundred schools with two hundred thousand Sunday School pupils. All the sects took up the plan, organizing schools in every part of the country. Indeed Sunday Schools became an established way of teaching the Bible in all parts of the Christian world, a stream from that fountain ever enlarging to the present time. At the opening of the twentieth century there were reported at the World's Sunday School Convention at Jerusalem more than twenty-three millions of persons in these Sunday Schools of Protestantism.

The press helped reform. It made books common and cheap. Women, forming Blue Stocking

Clubs, took deeper interest in literary matters, aiding greatly in refining literature and helping forward religion as well as gaining culture for themselves. There was a discouraging lack of libraries. The revivalists made constant use of the press, not alone in controversy, but for the direct good of the masses. Wesley's pen was kept hot writing tracts, pamphlets, books, notes on the Gospels, and other publications designed for the use of the people reached by him and his itinerants.

In reading of modern missions one sees a revival of the spirit actuating the tireless toilers in that field through the earlier centuries of Christianity, as well as those in medieval centuries. Among modern missionaries has been shown a courage surpassing that of warriors on the field of blood, and a supreme faith in the power of truth to lift up men and women and meet the cry of the human soul. The two societies already organized were limited in means, workers and enthusiasm, but through the century did noble work for Wales and the Danish Mission in Tranguabar. By mutual consent the Christian Knowledge Society pushed its plans eastward, while the Propagation Society pushed its plans westward. Especially did the latter work in territory which is now the United States. Indian tribes, the Iroquois and others, were reached with the gospel, and spiritual aid was given to the colonists, the Quakers, Congregationalists and negroes. In North Carolina Rev. Clement Hall, supported by this society on thirty pounds a year, went among the destitute pioneers, having traveled in eight years, it

is said, fourteen thousand miles, preached eight hundred times and baptized six thousand people. Bishop Berkley and others attempted to found a college to prepare men for the mission field, but they were not successes. From her college at Trevecca the Countess of Huntingdon sent out to Georgia a band of missionaries designed to carry forward the work of Whitefield in that province. They worked with success among the blacks and scattered settlers down to the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, when they returned to England. Their place in part was then taken by Francis Asbury in his tireless traveling through the colonies.

Dr. Thomas Coke, one of Wesley's ablest preachers, was strongly drawn toward mission plans and work. Unable for the time to go eastward, he went westward instead, a storm drifting his ship to the West India Islands. At once beginning work there among the blacks, he broadened plans according to his opportunities until he made those islands into a most promising mission field. After the Revolutionary War, being sent by Wesley to United States as joint superintendent with Asbury of the fast-developing Methodist Church of that country, he returned to England several times to collect money and to interest people in the West India missions. Finally, when sixty-six years old, determined to start a mission in the east but unable to collect money for it, he devoted his own considerable fortune to that object, starting for India with several Irish missionaries, but he died on shipboard and was buried beneath the waters of the Indian Ocean.

These preliminary steps, feeble and disjointed though they seem, were leading to the great plans for missionary work, soon to take form in England. A humble shoemaker, William Carey, reading with avidity books of travel and discovery, was deeply troubled that so many peoples described in them should be lacking the light of Christianity. Going to a meeting of ministers at Northampton, Carey proposed as a subject for discussion the duty of Christians to spread a knowledge of the gospel among heathen people. To this novel request, the moderator cried out, "Young man, sit down. When God pleases to convert the heathen he will do it without your aid or mine!" Persisting in his purpose, Carey reached success, for in 1792 the Baptist missionary society was formed in the parlor of a widow, Mrs. Beebe Wallis. The first subscription to this new society amounted to 13£, 2s, 6d. Within eight months Carey with his family was on the way to India. After studying the Bengalee and Sanscrit languages for five years, in 1801 he was called to the professorship of Mahratta and Sanscrit in the new college founded at Calcutta to educate the natives, where he remained for thirty years. Before his death in 1834 no less than forty languages had received the Bible in whole or in part from his busy press at Serampore, thus making that book accessible to two hundred million Indians. The East India Company virulently opposed the entrance of Baptist missions into their domain, and later refused to carry the missionaries in the company's ships. Its charter having to be renewed in 1813, strenuous

efforts of those interested caused the government to put into the charter provisions granting liberty of missionary work and compelling the company to hold its ships open to the missionaries.

Three years later than the beginning of the Baptist Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society was organized. The design was not to have it under the auspices of any single sect, though later its direction fell mostly to the lot of the Independents. It established missions in various parts of the world and had the honor of sending the first Protestant missionary to China. In 1807 Robert Morrison was sent there to put the Bible into the native language. It was some years before a single convert was made. Not satisfied with these openings the London Society in 1818 sent a company to Madagascar. Abundant success at first crowned their efforts, but a pagan queen coming to the throne, persecution set in. Still Christianity was not stamped out, the persecuted natives gaining converts through a quarter century of storm. Past the middle of the century that queen died and the mission was again opened with large results.

The third great missionary society in England organized before the eighteenth century closed was that of the Anglican Church. At first the specified object was to work in western Africa, but after a while world-wide fields were entered.

The Scot Presbyterians, not to be outdone in this beneficence, as early as 1709 established at Edinburgh the Scottish Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. Its design at first was to carry the

gospel to the needy people in the Highlands and in the Scottish islands. Later their plans and vision broadened and efforts were made to Christianize the American Indians. In Scotland as in England the close of the eighteenth century saw the formation of a Scottish missionary society, and the Glasgow Missionary Society was started the same year.

## CHAPTER XXXVI

Dissent in the meantime was pushing its vocation for rights and freedom and higher religious life. The Unitarians started work. Two men arose among them whose ability and attainments attracted wide notice,—Price and Priestly. Their writings entitled them to respectful hearing by all the land. Both sympathized with the promise of democracy as seen in the French Revolution, since they recognized that Christianity was allied to that principle. Though a harmless man and a most philanthropic spirit Priestly was attacked by brutal mobs, his invaluable collection of scientific books, notes and apparatus destroyed by fire set by the mob while he had to hide for his life. Finding himself not safe in England, he fled to America, while those traducing him were promoted by the King. But much of England's heart was with Priestly. After his house was burned he was deluged with sympathetic letters and resolutions sent up from committees from all parts of the kingdom.

By law the Unitarians were still denied rights which other Dissenters held, being unable to find relief even under the Test Act or under the Conventicle Act. A bill brought forward by Fox to grant them the privilege of those laws was lost in 1792 by a vote of more than two to one. Both Burke and Pitt opposed this bill. So heavy was the opposition of the Established Church to the abolish-

ment of those acts that even Pitt, then Prime Minister, decided it would be unwise at that time to arouse the animosity of the church people. The French Revolution made men of broad statesmanship more timid than usual. Toleration was slow in coming, but coming it was.

The evangelical revival had as one of its fruits much clarifying controversy over theological questions. Dr. Samuel Clarke became satisfied that Jesus and the Holy Spirit were not declared to be God but inferior to God the Father. He was ably answered by Dr. Waterland. Priestly also entered the contest, calling out many replies. Indeed the Unitarians, like the Deists of a preceding age, were free lances in the theological battlefield.

The Catholics, though few in number (reckoned at this time at about one hundred eighty thousand), were powerful by family importance, wealth and persistence for rights. There were four times as many Baptists and five times as many Independents in England. The Catholics suffered sectarian animosities with dread of interference from Rome and with fear of disloyalty. But there was a softening of spirit towards this people, though most of the nonconformists looked askance at them. Efforts were constantly made to broaden that softening spirit. In 1778, on motion of Sir George Saville, a bill passed both houses without one negative to repeal the Act of King William's time designed to prevent the further growth of popery. This relief bill at once fired the Scot heart, for in that country the bitterness against the Catholics exceeded that of



England. Fierce action of the synods, fiery pamphlets by the thousand, raised a perfect fury of feeling, riots occurring in Edinburgh and in Glasgow. If one sympathized with the bill he was attacked.

With disastrous results this heat reached England. A young Scot peer, Lord George Gordon, in London set in motion great masses of the people who went to the Parliament House in angry mood, crying, "No popery," insulting members entering the building, wrecking carriages, howling about Parliament, while Peers and Commons sat in fear of their lives. Proceeding from noise to violence they put London for days at the mercy of the drunken mob, who burned and pillaged at will.

Lord George Gordon was tried, but it was shown that he did not anticipate such extreme results and that he had offered his services to the government to stop the riot. In the years immediately following Parliament showed that the mob had not intimidated that body. Within three years another relief bill passed both houses without dissent, abolishing laws against recusants, granting free worship and free schools on being registered, removing restrictions on wills and the double land tax, with permission to practice law before the courts. But no monastic order was to be established. Pitt tried to get further favors for the Irish Catholics, but the King being greatly opposed to such leniency, Pitt threw up his office and a new ministry was placed in power with the distinct purpose not to bring up the Catholic question. The King, considering his

coronation oath to preclude all favors to Catholics, tried to pledge members of the ministry not to propose any further concessions to the Catholics, but this the stout Englishmen refused.

As the nineteenth century dawned, there came to Englishmen larger views of life, politics and religion. The evangelical revival fired the religious consciousness, the increase of wealth opened new vistas to personal hopes and endeavors, the struggle with Napoleon taught strength and confidence. It is said that at least a thousand clergy of the Established Church were found in the evangelical wing.

The agitation for better things led Parliament to repeal laws regarding Quakers taking oaths, also the hateful Five Mile Act. As far back as 1753 a law had been made that marriages should be solemnized only in a parish church with Anglican ritual after bans had been published three times, and this law was kept through more than a third of the nineteenth century. The hounded Unitarians, shut out even from the Toleration Act, were granted in 1813 all the liberties of other Dissenters. In 1828 Lord John Russell in spite of the opposition of the Duke of Wellington's government, succeeded at last in getting the repeal of the Test Act and the Corporation Act, two laws that had been active in keeping a large share of England's good men from participation in national matters. It is said that at the end of the second decade England had three million Dissenters.

So many obnoxious laws had been repealed that at last in 1829 an attempt at Catholic emancipation

succeeded. Dissenters, aided by the press and by many leading statesmen, showed most active sympathy. O'Connell, the Irish patriot, expressed heartily his appreciation of aid from Dissenters. All, whether Churchmen or Dissenters, had been compelled to pay tithes, but this law in 1836 was so changed that the tithes could be commuted into a land tax by voluntary act of each parish. Within fifteen years nearly all the parishes of England had voted this change. Soon, too, in Ireland a like law was effected with similar good results. A Quaker having been elected to Parliament in 1833 was permitted to take his seat on affirmation. Further on, two Jews, having been elected to Parliament, were seated amidst many expressions of hearty welcome, though up to that time denied the privilege of a place in that body. But church rates, the taxes for keeping churches in repair, were deemed unjust by Dissenters, since they gave money to build and keep in repair their own churches. Bills for release from those rates presented at the first third of the century failed of passing, as did others after the middle of the century.

With so many obstacles removed from the paths of free progress of the religious life, it is to be expected that the various bodies of religious people would grow in numbers and new bodies start into being. A church section of a national census ordered in 1851 gave a most astonishing view of that progress. At that date the various Methodist bodies had 11,007 chapels with sittings for 2,194,298 people. The Independents had 3244 chapels and

the Baptists 2789, with sittings to the number of 752,346. The Catholics a few years later had 574 houses of worship. In England and Wales together all the denominations had 34,467 places of worship, of which the Anglicans owned 14,077. The total accommodations were for 9,467,738 people, of which the Establishment offered 4,428,388.

The missionary spirit so grandly begun near the close of the eighteenth century was carried forward with increasing zeal. Commerce extending, missions went with it and often led the way. In part the missionaries offset some of the evils going with traders, especially traffic in rum and opium, and nameless vices.

The Methodist movement was missionary in its very nature and in its earliest plans. For years so pressing was the work in Great Britain that no attention could be paid to foreign peoples. Wesley welcomed Dr. Coke as the man designed to carry on the peculiar vocation of the movement, outside Great Britain, while he himself confined his labors to the British Isles; hence Coke's work in United States, the northern provinces, the West Indies, and the consummation of his hopes when in 1813 he finally planned a mission for India. After his death his companions opened a mission in Ceylon, the locality assigned them. The Commandant of that island, Lord Molesworth, attending their first service was happily converted. From that time he greatly aided the young mission.

The Wesleyan Missionary Society was not

formally organized, like the early Baptist Society and others, until 1817. But at the date of formal organization Wesleyan missions had been in operation forty years with a corps of a hundred missionaries, their fields extending as far as Australia. The rapidly developing work called for great executive talent to conduct the business of the society, finding this in Jabez Bunting, who had nobly associated with him Richard Watson and Robert Newton.

The General Baptists, those accepting the Arminian views of redemption, founded a missionary society in 1816, being led to this by a man worthy to be named with Coke and Carey, Rev. J. G. Pike. Their first mission was started at Orissa, India, close beside the famous idol, Juggernaut. The usual conflict with such gross idolatry took place, the missionaries preaching and teaching and showing a better way to those people so devoutly devoted to their imperfect religion. The missionaries also founded villages of converted natives whose loss of caste cost them their means of very existence. The Bible was in due time translated into the language of Orissa.

In the education of the masses there had never been a satisfactory condition. The nonconformist sects had set up through various parts of the country seminaries especially for the education of their young men designed for the ministry, though many others found their culture in these schools. They were the more imperative since conscientious Dissenters, unwilling to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine

Articles required to enter the National University, must find their higher culture in such seminaries. The evangelical uplift had created a desire in the masses for more knowledge, that being one of the profoundest results of that grand movement. Sunday Schools were of much worth to the children, but there was needed a system of education beyond them. In the last years of the eighteenth century, a young Quaker, Lancaster, seeing the need of education, opened a private school at Southwark, his father's home. Of limited means, he was soon perplexed how to carry on his school, grown so popular that at the end of two years he had a thousand pupils. He conceived the plan of using the older pupils to teach the younger ones, thus at a very limited expense doing his noble work. His system and schools became immensely popular, so much so as finally to attract the notice and commendation of the King. Strange as it may seem his beneficence to the young and aspiring was strongly opposed by the Anglican clergy, who might seem desirous of keeping the working classes ignorant to be more subservient to church dominance. Societies were formed grouped around the liberal and helpful ideas of Lancaster and also about the restrictive plans of the hierarchy. Broughan in 1820 asked permission to attain better schools in Great Britain with each schoolmaster nominated by the clergyman and two or three parishioners. The teacher must be a communicant of the Established Church and the clergyman was to fix the course of study. To these exclusive plans and others the Dissenters objected so strongly that

Broughan withdrew his request to offer the bill. Other plans to formulate a working system gave the Anglican Church such predominance that objections by the Dissenters caused nothing to be done.

## CHAPTER XXXVII

Several things combined to start the trend in church life known as the Oxford Movement, also sometimes called the Tractarian Movement. About the date of the Reform Bill certain intense men at Oxford were aroused for the welfare of the Anglican Church. They feared the drift toward liberalism in its Evangelical wing, seeing danger also from German rationalistic teachings that were spreading over all Europe. Fear was further fostered by the agitation brought forward by Catholic Emancipation, finally obtained in 1829. The suppression of ten bishoprics in Ireland by the Parliament and other steps by that body were very suggestive of Erastianism, that continuous bogey of Churchmen. This Oxford group had its fears crystallized by a sermon delivered by John Keble in 1833 on National Apostasy in which he claimed that the Reform Bill, Catholic Emancipation, and suppression of the ten bishoprics placed the Establishment in grave danger. Newman always declared that this sermon was the beginning of the Oxford Movement.

Soon after that sermon John Henry Newman, John Keble, Hurrell Froude and others meeting in the parsonage of Hugh Rose at Hadleigh laid out a plan to write a series of tracts for the public, discussing the issues then coming to the surface. In these tracts they spoke of the true church, its claims and imperfections, the shortcomings in all branches



of Christianity and allied matters. These Tracts for the Times, scholarly, brilliant, being brought out in rapid succession, to the number of ninety, attracted to themselves much attention. No. 90, written by Newman, claimed that the Thirty-Nine Articles were not directed against the Catholic Church but against heresies earlier than the Council of Trent. The Tracts showed such a trend toward Rome that the bishop in whose diocese the church stood demanded that they should cease, and as good churchmen the writers obeyed. In that No. 90 Newman claimed also that one could sign the Thirty-Nine Articles and yet hold most of the Roman Catholic tenets. Other prelates and the University authorities, being aroused by the Romeward tendency of the Tracts, took vigorous steps to head off this drift. The Tractarians however made abundant use of the press in other ways.

Up to this time the Tractarian writers and agitators had claimed to be the most devoted Churchmen. Their studies and writings had led them to believe that the church rites were the means of reaching the highest religious life. Hence they insisted on baptismal regeneration, clerical absolution, with the confessional, the worship of Mary, transubstantiation, celebration of the mass in ornate robes, in penance and purgatory. The opposition aroused was not alone with the prelates and universities, for the evangelical part of the Anglican Church and Dissenters, the liberals and orthodox of various views, strongly repudiated the innovations.

Seeing the need of a revival in the Anglican

Church, the Oxford group proposed steps toward it. By them the church of the far past was to be brought down to the present by a revival of its rites and teachings. Driven to a study of the church before the Reformation, Newman, Ward and others came gradually to consider the Catholic Church as the only true one. Hoping to lead the Anglican Church to accept the ceremonies of the medieval church, they labored to that end. In this work they soon led some of the laity to join them, especially those of wealth and rank whose money enabled them to have leisure for such activities. However, not all the titled ones went with the movement, for in Lord Shaftsbury's diary is found written:

"Lord, purge the church of these men, who, while their hearts are in the Vatican still eat the bread of the Establishment and undermine law."

The rabble dubbed them Sacramentarians. The mob showed its opposition by going to a London church, howling the responses, hissing, whistling, letting loose drugged dogs, and using other base means of disturbance. *Punch* made jeering cartoons, while leading papers attacked the Tractarians. Out of the Tractarian movement grew two important results, one a drift toward Rome the other into High Church life.

Newman's crucial Tract, No. 90 came out in 1839, while he was rector of St. Mary's Church, Oxford. All by this time saw his leadership. Indeed, he was a natural born leader, yet so not by intrigue and dominating force so much as by a singular transpar-

ent character, high genius and progressive ideas. His sermons at St. Mary's exerted a profound influence upon the under-graduates and tutors of Oxford. He had little ambition to lead in a reform, but really in working for it led all others. Many, becoming his followers when under the charm of his presence, later with more mature insight refused to follow him either to Rome or to the denial of well-established belief. Able men of letters deem his "Apologia" and "Grammar of Assent" to lack in sound reasoning. He was thoroughly pious, the early shining of light into his life under evangelical teachings never left him, since in all his later years he claimed the presence and comfort of that light as heartily as any spiritual nonconformist. No one should think of Newman other than a towering genius, possibly the mightiest English mind of the nineteenth century. His greatness made the grief of his countrymen all the intenser when in 1845, having two or three years before withdrawn from the Anglican Church, he was received into the Catholic Church, feeling, he said, like one coming into port after a rough sea.

The fear felt by some that a large following to Rome would take place, was groundless. One much alarmed at the movement declared to a certain statesman that two noblemen and their wives had gone over to Rome. The statesman calmly replied, "Show me a couple of grocers and their wives who have gone over; then you will frighten me." In twenty years some two hundred clergy went to Rome. Newman retired to Birmingham and established a monastic

house, where he lived almost a recluse for forty years after his change, being made a cardinal during this time.

The second important result growing out of the Oxford movement, the High Church trend, was inherent in it from the start. The real movement went on, being but slightly affected by Newman's leaving it. Wherever the reform was accepted, much more attention was paid to forms and ceremonies, to the liturgy, to saints' days and church festivals, to beauty of ornamentation in the churches. More frequent communion was practiced, churches by the hundred were kept open every day. Scotland and Ireland were both reached by the change. Schools, that crying need always in English life, were set up, their work designed to teach the ways of the new spirit as well as the demands of modern thought. Charitable houses were opened, the first in London in 1847. It was noticed that many families were touched in their homes, having joy and comfort, the children better brought up, more obedient, loving and well spoken.

The organization of Sisterhoods, allied to Catholic nunneries also took place, becoming widespread in the decades. Three or four devout women started the first one in 1845 in a private house. A historian says of one of these houses, "It is one of the glories of our land."

That wing of the Establishment designated the "Broad Church" was thrown into bitter opposition owing to the new views and spirit, to some most startling. Pusey became the active leader of the

section whose drift set strongly toward ritualism of the most pronounced type. Though not reaching to Rome, many feared that the Oxford movement was making true Newman's saying that the Anglican Church was the halfway house to Rome. This wing of the Anglican Church refused to be called Protestants, claiming to be a branch of the Catholic Church.

As Catholicism is a polity as well as a sect of Christianity, multitudes of Englishmen are very shy of it. So the current, not setting direct to Rome, was feared as gradually leading that way. Says J. A. Froude, whose brother, Burrell Froude, followed Newman to Rome:

"The Church of England may play at sacerdotalism and masquerade in medieval garniture, the clergy may flatter one another with notions that they can bind and loose the souls of their fellow Christians and transform the substance of the sacramental elements by spells and gestures, but they will not at this time of day persuade intelligent men that the bishops in their ordination gave them supernatural powers."

He says further that the nation has ceased to care what the clergy may say or do. At least it is apparent that the ritualistic activity has been forceful in renewing the ways of Anglicanism. Before the end of the nineteenth century it was claimed that half of the clergy were of High Church practices. The prelates, the courts and parliament are found to be helpless in stemming the tide of ritualism.

As is ever the case in Christian fields, some of the clergy have been models of devotion and of success-

ful work. Some sought the most abandoned section of British cities, gradually worked changes so that the haunts once of thieves and harlots became the abodes of honesty and purity. Instances of devoted missionary work to most difficult members of the human family were not wanting.

Early in the century the Baptist Union was formed, which proved of great worth in binding the denomination, a work much needed. The Union aided weak churches, raised an educational fund, helped to build schools of various grades, stirred Parliament to give Dissenters better laws, entered the courts for their rights, appealed to public opinion, and in other ways pushed forward their work.

In 1876 the Scot and English Presbyterian churches united on the basis that the Scriptures were the sufficient source of truth, also uniting on the Westminster Confessions, including the Larger and Shorter Catechisms. Following this union the sect took on fresh vigor in England, putting up new churches, founding schools and colleges, aiding the indigent and doing splendid missionary work. Many able ministers were in the pulpits. To unify denominational work it began in 1877 to hold General Councils, these meeting in different parts of the kingdom and in United States.

The Independents, seeing the worth of combination for aggressive work, formed the Congregational Union. They still retained, however, the first principle of Independency, that every individual is independent of human authority in all matters pertaining to religious faith and practice, the same as every

local church or congregation is independent. These high claims have had their influence not only in this church, but among other sects in creating a sense of freedom and rights. To further their noble work, benevolent societies have been formed and missionary plans at home and abroad have been pushed. In the agitation arising over education bills of the early twentieth century they have taken most earnest position for rights.

Like the other denominations, the Unitarians found that the changes of thought touched them, modifying their beliefs and affecting their growth and activities. Indeed, so marked was the change that many of them declared that they could hear as good Unitarian sermons in the Congregationalist or Anglican churches as in their own. Their drift was from the extreme views of the older Unitarians,—Lindsay, Belsham and Priestly,—among the more liberal ones a modified theism taking the place of the materialism dominating the sect before. The influence of James Martineau was to lead the Unitarians along this trend. As usual they held an advanced place in social life, in noble philanthropies and in fostering education. A Home Missionary College was established at Manchester, the New College was removed from London to Oxford, they set up libraries, museums and picture galleries that were of inestimable worth to the public. In Rowland Hill, the reformer of the postal rates, this sect had a most exalted benefactor of the people. As the century was closing they found it difficult to produce enough ministers for their three hundred fifty churches.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII

In the first third of the century, a remarkable man, Edward Irving, finding that the Scot people were unwilling to hear and use him, went to great London to teach his peculiar faith. There gathered about him for a time much of rank and fashion. He claimed that the miraculous gift of the Holy Spirit as on the day of Pentecost and other powers would be conferred by laying on of hands if the conditions of faith and prayer were fulfilled. A fourfold ministry was instituted, that of apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors. He hoped to restore the office of the twelve apostles and through that to heal the ills of Christianity. A speedy coming of Christ to establish His earthly kingdom he also taught. For awhile Irving's influence was dominant in London and so widespread that his services were followed on the continent. But after a few years that influence waned, his followers coldly neglected him, his incipient sect was scattered, and he, old before his time, buffeted, forlorn, died at middle age to have his work mostly perish with him.

The Catholic Emancipation of 1829 was followed by rapid development of that denomination in all parts of the empire. Of course Ireland was the principal place of their church work. The bill introduced in 1845 by Peele to grant money to Maynooth College, Ireland, frightened England, since Catholic clergy would be educated and supported by



taxes laid on Protestants. The bill passing, it was thought by Gladstone that the opposition, though a parliamentary minority, represented the true opinion of England and Scotland. The plan of the pope to organize an elaborate hierarchy for Great Britain called out an act known as the Ecclesiastical Titles bill which forbade such an organization, but it was inoperative, the Catholics proceeding to partition off the country into dioceses, appoint prelates, and set up monasteries and nunneries.

In spite of sharp opposition, the alienation of many of his strong supporters, Palmerston with the concurrence of the Queen shaped a bill that passed, placing the Anglican Church in Ireland on a level with the Catholic Church and others. Thus was presented the anomaly of one section of the empire with all the churches free and in the other parts an establishment still in force that made all but its own members Dissenters in sight of the law. A vast amount of funds accumulated in Ireland was divided among the Irish sects. With an even chance for the first time in centuries the Irish Catholics rapidly arose in all elements of a better Christian life and civilization. The priests often from the peasant class are profoundly revered by the people. So great a genius for religion has the Celt that he more readily submits to ecclesiastical dominance than some less fiery races. His religion shapes his whole life.

When in 1892 Cardinal Vaughan came to the see of Westminster he formed the children already under Catholic direction into crusaders, making the children the saviors of the children, keeping this

crusade active by his personal influence, by teaching the children the joy of such a work and by letters written to them. This method of uplifting the children has been followed in many other parts of the world. Like all sects the Catholics have been touched by the scientific advance of the century.

Possibly the thing that most deeply affected the religious life in the latter half of the century was the Salvation Army. To the genius and devotion of one man, under the direction of Heaven as in the Methodist revival, can this movement be ascribed. Indeed it is a product of Methodism. William Booth, in early life a Methodist, became intensely eager for the good of his fellowmen and began preaching out of doors, which was against a rule of the Wesleyans. He was accordingly crowded out. He then united with the Methodist New Connection, but after a while this relation hampered him so that he was compelled to work by himself. The degraded masses of East London called so loudly to this man that he plunged into the seething mass to do them good. He stated that he had four simple principles of work, going to the people with the message of salvation, attracting the people, saving the people, and giving employment to the people. By 1861 he had fully entered upon the plans since so greatly enlarged. The press was put into active use, and *The War Cry*, was projected. A little later in a huge tent in East London he formally opened the beneficent activities of his call. His wife was a most valuable assistant. Within ten years he had more than thirty stations, helpers by the hundreds, with

thousands of converts and a multiplying attendance waiting upon the services. Known during those formative years as the Christian Mission the name was changed in 1877 to Salvation Army and a definite military organization formed, made necessary because those converted at his services found they were not welcome in the churches to which before he had sent them. A uniform was adopted, modest and practical, the intense workers going everywhere in that part of the city, into the public houses, gin palaces, prisons, brothels, private houses, to speak to all and to pray with them. Religious services were held wherever they could gather the people to listen in dance halls, theaters and in other places of resort, as well as on the streets. Any place was counted holy where God's children whether saint or sinner would come for Christian instruction. Popular tunes had words of spiritual import set to them and were sung everywhere. As soon as a person joined them he was set at work. Woman's faith and devotion were freely utilized. It seemed another of those providential movements for the uplift of humanity that so many times have had their origin in the Anglo-Saxon race.

The work of the Salvation Army passed in time to other cities of Great Britain and then beyond to the colonies, to United States, to the continents. A late statement says that the Army is established in more than fifty countries. Booth reached another stage of insight, that less could be done for spiritual uplift than should be done as long as the struggle just to live was so sharp. Out of this view grew his

colonizing projects. He planned to set up colonies in special city industries and on farms in England, and also to found colonies in other domains where land was cheap and industries varied. If not always a success, yet so much success attended these colonies that vast good was done. So beneficial did these plans appear that the government sent out H. Rider Haggard, the author, to Canada and United States to investigate and report on those colonies with a view to following some such plan itself if a favorable outlook was found.

In Queen Victoria it was the fortune of Great Britain to have a sovereign whose sympathies and influence were in accord with the spirit of the century. All forward movements for the good of her people received her kindly help. Her own life was a noble example of the wife and mother, her court pure, her diplomacy for peace and its triumphs. She was in close touch with her people, always insisting on constitutional procedure through the political changes of her long reign. At the time of her death the multitudes of London stood mute as the procession passed, taking her body to its last resting-place, sturdy sailors instead of horses drawing the artillery caisson instead of a hearse.

## CHAPTER XXXIX

As the eighteenth century was drawing to a close many things in English life, in politics especially, demanded reformation. The open and glaring corruption by which legislators were sent to Parliament, the unequal representation of election districts, the rejection still of manhood's rights, combined to make Englishmen restless.

As an aid to progress the Catholic Emancipation of 1829 gave a valuable shock to the crystallizing tendencies for reform. O'Connell, who represented progressive Ireland, stood for universal franchise and vote by ballot. The Iron Duke, standing in the way of reform, lost in the contest of advancing England as he had won at Waterloo. Earl Grey taking Wellington's place brought forward a bill of reform in 1831, against which the king and great numbers in both houses entered the lists accomplishing its defeat. But it was the English people, taught by the growing sense of human rights, enlightened by the press, by public discussion of the issues, and by the advance of religious liberty, that corruption had now to meet. In 1832 the famous Reform Bill passed the House of Lords and received the King's signature to become a law. In that bill another Magna Carta was given England. The Reform Bill of 1832 was marked rather by the abuses that it purposed to lessen than for advance in legislation. Yet it opened the way to other progress and Eng-

land's industrial spirit and religious life were touched with a sense of rich regeneration.

Alongside those great men who wrought righteousness through the political life of Great Britain were other great men who in the fields of church life also did uplifting things. Among these prominently stood James Martineau. Usually classed as a Unitarian, he was unwilling to be so named, since he refused to belong to any sect that bore a distinct name or had a distinct form of creed. He was of French Huguenot blood, thoroughly educated in Presbyterian colleges, preaching while yet a student, entering the pastorate first in Dublin then in Liverpool, professor in two or three colleges, and principal of the Manchester college after its transfer to London, and there pastor at the same time in a Unitarian chapel. He was an independent thinker in various lines, became prominent in liberal advance, taught that reason should control opinions of revelation, selecting as reliable certain parts of the gospels while rejecting others.

Clear sighted, he declared in his later years that the future of English religion was not in negation and criticism but in the power of faith. In personal experience he deemed the ideal relation between the human spirit and the divine to be realized. So deep was his sympathy with religious freedom that he heartily approved Gladstone's position in the debate on the Dissenters' Chapel Bill, of openness to progressive change. One of his maxims was, "All knowledge good, all conscience free." Missions and works of philanthropy heartily enlisted his aid. His love

of sacred music led him to compile two or three hymn-books, finding in Wesley's hymns what stirred the profoundest recesses of his being. Profound also was his respect for Channing, the "New England prophet," learning from him that moral perfection is the essence of God and the supremest end of man.

Another man exerting a magnificent force in the religious life was Charles H. Spurgeon. He, too, had lively religious impressions, and was converted at the age of sixteen when listening to a sermon in a Methodist chapel. At seventeen he began preaching to a Baptist congregation at Waterbeach, Combs, receiving twenty pounds a year salary. Three years later he was called to London to the pastorate of Parkstreet Chapel. Here great numbers were attracted by the spirited preaching of the young man. Then in Exeter Hall vast audiences listened to him. Later the Metropolitan Tabernacle was projected, capable of seating seven thousand people. In all of the building not a workman was hurt. He considered it an answer to prayer to this end. His sermons, simple, evangelical, printed in vast numbers, scattered as widely as the English language is spoken and put into many other tongues, exerted a rich influence.

Out of his boundless energy he projected many plans beyond the central church. Scattered through London and outside were missions, smaller churches, Sunday Schools and ragged schools, Bands of Hope, almshouses and other beneficent organizations, all directed by the master mind at the Tabernacle. A favorite work of his was the college which in a third

of a century sent out nearly a thousand men, more than half of them entering one form or another of evangelical labors. Mrs. Spurgeon, the helpmeet worthy of such a husband, aided and directed the charities. As an instance in fifteen years she distributed to poor preachers needing them about twenty-five thousand books.



## CHAPTER XL

In 1870 a proposal to make a revision of the King James translation of the Bible was submitted to the Canterbury Convocation of the Anglican Church by the Bishop of Winchester, Samuel Wilberforce. The proposal, meeting with encouragement there and in many other quarters, was soon entered upon, the New Testament only being in the plan at first, but this was afterwards enlarged to include the Old Testament. Men of learning among English-speaking people from all sects of Protestantism were invited to join the undertaking. Of the sixty-five British scholars on the revision forty were of the Anglican Church. Of the American section Dr. Philip Schaff was chairman. In all, ninety men worked on the revision. Any change from the wording of the King James rendering had to be accepted by a vote of two to one. Some of the changes proposed by the American revisers on being sent to England were rejected. So careful was the work that it was ten years before the New Testament revision was completed and five years more before the Old Testament was done. The University press in Oxford and Cambridge, the copyright being granted them, undertook to bear the great toil of printing and putting out the revision. It caused the widest reading of the sacred book over all the world. Newspapers in the United States printed in a single issue the whole of the New Testament. Through opinions of the public

ran a strong note of dissatisfaction that the revision changed renderings so slightly. Its use has steadily increased, though by no means superseding the King James edition.

England's educational system has never been satisfactory. The Establishment, in its efforts for better facilities, has been opposed by Dissenters and Catholics, while these have considered themselves wronged by the laws already in operation and by the new ones proposed. Great Britain, denied free public schools wholly secular by which some other nations have greatly benefited, has struggled with the education of its youth, but still at the opening of the twentieth century lacks a good system for that purpose. At the opening of the nineteenth century nine out of fourteen children in England and Wales were without public schooling. In Scotland the condition was not so bad, but in Ireland it was even worse. Lancaster's plan of using advanced pupils as tutors and monitors supplied to a degree a want for cheap schools, this method being followed on the continent and as far away as India. It led to the formation of the British and Foreign School Society, a formation in which the Quakers were most prominent,—so promising that rank and royalty were interested. Opposition to Lancaster's system arose mostly from its not conforming to the ways of the Establishment. By the first third of the century state aid was granted the schools in a limited way, increasing as the worth of this plan was apparent. Within sixty years the grants increased from twenty thousand pounds a year to

eight millions and a half. This aid was granted to the Catholics in Ireland, permitting separate teaching of their own creed.

As time passed the education of the youth, though having some improvements, was lacking in efficiency. Bills seeking to improve the situation were offered by one ministry and another but the question of the kind of religious instruction to be given was always a block to the wheels. The Catholics, regarding the schools in Ireland as godless would not send their children to them. In the plans, however, care was taken to protect the conscientious preferences of the pupils and their parents.

By 1869 it was found that two million and a third pupils were using the available accommodations of various kinds and that two million more children were in no schools at all. The next year Gladstone's government projected a bill which proposed to retain the system of religious instruction, but allow the people of each denomination to give such religious instruction as they deemed best. Still, so unsatisfactory were the provisions of this bill to the non-conformists, that it caused the downfall of Gladstone's premiership. This was said to be not a question religious, but ecclesiastical, which was often the very contrary of religious.

Balfour's government in 1902 brought forward a bill to increase the efficiency of the schools. It was so one-sided in favor of the Establishment that the nonconformists made most strenuous opposition to its passage, but in vain. After its passage some Dissenters allowed themselves to be thrown into prison

rather than pay the hateful taxes to support the schools. It was a supreme case of passive resistance. By provisions of the bill instruction in the doctrines and rites of the Anglican Church was obviously declared. On the fall of Balfour's government and the dissolution of Parliament, the Liberal party, pledged to modify the educational matter, came into power. But the plans entered upon by the Campbell-Bannerman's administration and sent up to the Lords, were not well received by that body, and again the children of Great Britain wait for education on the ecclesiastical notions of slow conservatism.

The nineteenth century brought forward a most wonderful advance in many fields of scientific knowledge. The preceding century had handed up to the new one the elements of geology so it was gradually learned that the earth was very old and that the strata had fossils imbedded in them showing life of remarkable forms and of vast duration. Theologians saw in the writings of Lyell, Buckland, and others things contrary to the accepted tenets of their theological books. The early question arose as to whether the term "day" in the first of Genesis meant a day of twenty-four hours or a term of extended duration. The discussions of the leaders were hot and loud, and each side, confident of holding the truth, led farther and farther in the field of investigation.

Near the first third of the century two men arrived at similar conclusions about the processes of creation,—Charles Darwin and Alfred R. Wallace. It was a bit remarkable that to each had come the insight when making study of the forms of life from

sea and island. To the new view of creation was given the name of evolution.

It was a most radical theory and aroused the modern intellect as possibly it had not been stirred before. The books of Darwin, of Wallace, and of other able writers soon placed the new teaching before the public in most interesting and voluminous ways, and as in the case of geology, and indeed in every great issue, the Anglo-Saxon interest demanded how this new teaching was related to religion. Theologians rushed into the arena, making a fight for their traditional views of man's origin and place in nature. They feared if this theory prevailed, men would cast religion away.

Besides these two originators of the evolution theory, a group of remarkable men arose, specialists in philosophy and science, whose writings and lectures enlarged and illustrated the views of the leaders. Of these there were three who surpassed all others in their power and influence,—Professor John Tyndall, Herbert Spencer, and Professor Thomas Huxley. Added to their great ability was a tinge of discredit given by them to the dogmas of the church. In the main the controversies were conducted in a spirit of fairness, mostly without vituperation and personal abuse.

In the meantime the work of the Christian people went on with increasing earnestness. The people, if chilled a bit in their trust as expressed by church relations and by creeds and dogmas, could not be led to throw away their hopes for the vague, highly sublimated claims of the scientists. Their vision, growing

broader, caused unrest, but that unrest had progress in it. Any drift away from church attendance and work did hardly more than to remove some people but loosely connected with the religious life, leaving those of strong faith better informed, more courageous and enthusiastic. It was claimed that these new conditions brought forth a higher grade of gospel teaching than in any of the centuries preceding. The Oxford movement led the Anglican people to a stronger trust in their liturgy, while the Dissenters with new views obtained new life of the spirit.

But in reality some of those leaders,—Spencer, Mill, Huxley, and others,—in the questioning development of thought had deep religious sentiments. Mr. Darwin was singularly non-committal about religion. His writings show little evidence of scepticism.

The present renascence is comparable to that of the sixteenth century, yet in different fields and of broader significance to mankind. Not the literature and philosophy of a past civilization, but the elements and forces of a mighty present are the matters brought forward. Many things of supreme importance to further progress are made definite and emphatic. Millions of facts of nature and of man before unknown are to this age made known. Laws according to which the universe is governed are understood, giving to the hand of man means of multiplying his forces, and of enlarging his vision.

By the vast uplift of mind and of knowledge new adjustments are made necessary. Among them are the views of man as a religious being. The new

views of law as the action of a law-giver, not of forces capable in themselves of supreme action, enable men to hold a rational trust in God before lacking. If God is to be traced in all nature, wielding forces not before dreamed of, he is brought nearer to man, who now as never before can see the beneficence of the Heavenly Father. Schleirmacher said there was an immediate feeling of dependence of man upon God. This is found to have a deeper significance to man than questions of society, of science or of government.

If the Evangelical revival had a noble vocation to the rapidly extending British Empire, the vast enlargement of knowledge in the next century had its vocation also to the Anglo-Saxon world. Man with wider outlook and better personality would seek to extend his blessings to others of his own nation and to dependent peoples. Thus have come the franchise to the lower classes of Great Britain, still stronger insistence of rights by nonconformists, greater liberty to colonies, and intenser purpose to give non-Christian peoples the spiritual and material benefits of the gospel. The brotherhood of man, the say of science that he is of one species, have placed scientists and theologians on common ground.

## CHAPTER XLI

By the middle of the nineteenth century the missionary spirit had brought forth the first of a series of great missionary conferences and conventions that have lasted ever since. The earliest of these meetings was called at New York in 1854. Dr. Alexander Duff, the widely known Scot missionary to India, was then in United States, the guest of George H. Stuart of Philadelphia, who led in calling the New York Convention to listen to the Scotsman. Above a hundred fifty delegates gathered from most of the denominations of the country, all becoming greatly stirred by the eloquence of Dr. Duff and by the demands of the cause. The same year a similar convention was called in London, which, if not as widely attended as the one in New York, yet pushed the cause forward.

Following these initiatory meetings, a great one was held at Liverpool in 1860. This one was international, being made up of representatives from a large number of denominations, of active missionaries, of leading men from many missionary boards, as well as men from high civil and military rank. Nothing marred the fraternal spirit of the convention. Anglican met Independent, Methodist met Independent, Methodist met Presbyterian, Englishman met American, all on common grounds. This convention was able to present much wisdom before the world won by experience. All agreed that the



Bible put into native tongues was invaluable. So with indescribable toil and patience it was being accomplished. Within the sixty years of the century the Bible or portions of it had been put into a hundred languages. Bible Societies had risen alongside the missionary societies. These societies were prepared to print that book and to aid the missionaries in giving it out to the peoples.

Everywhere schools had been started where it could be done. Some of these had grown up from crude beginnings to colleges of high grade. It was noted that great periodicals had changed their tone from neglect to hearty sympathy and frequent notice. The missionary societies and the missionaries in foreign fields were alert in using the press.

Also by this time three definite currents of work had been found valuable and necessary, the evangelical, the educational, the medical. From the first preaching by interpreters, and in the native languages as soon as these could be used, was followed by good results. The schools including mechanical and manual training among the backward peoples, had also been attended with success. In this department the missionary women had taken hold with special zeal.

Medical missionary work, though operating in a few places, was found proving its worth. The first done was in 1835 at Canton by Dr. Peter Parker, who treated natives suffering with bad eyes. Later he also worked in Hong Kong. Other medical establishments were then set up, giving Bible instruction along with the healing of bodies. It was seen by the time of

this Convention that the conversion of peoples in the long run to the new religion must mostly be done by the natives developed into successful workers through the various agencies used by the missionaries. Self-support by native churches in part or wholly was found to be most important, the careful missionaries guiding and encouraging to that end. At times of famine or war the missionaries, sensitive to suffering humanity, had gathered orphans and others, feeding, clothing, caring for them.

The uplift of missionary zeal aroused by the Convention brought a spirit of revival throughout England. The blending of denominations was most hearty, the brotherhood of toilers making all hopeful and happy. Out of the Convention also came the remarkable movement reaching to the present, a suggestion of Mr. Bickersteith that a week of prayer for missions be held the first of January each year. The scope has been broadened to include many subjects and is now universally observed over all Christendom.

Eighteen years passed before another great international gathering was called. In 1878 the Mildmay Conference met in London to compare methods, report work, cheer each other, and unitedly to seek Heaven's blessing upon mission work.

Nearly all the Protestant mission work was being done, it was found, by the Anglo-Saxon race and by such continental peoples as were of closely allied blood. At this conference a French missionary said: "I came here also to ask guidance, for we look to you Anglo-Saxons, to those who are representatives of Christian civilization, for advice."

It was reported at the Mildmay Conference that the Bible Societies and the Tract Societies were showing marked success along with the missionaries.

Wise missionaries were adapting themselves to different countries, various peoples, and to peculiar faiths. The missionaries working among the Moham-medans found deep-seated prejudices and a deep-seated claim for the superiority of Islam, so the work was not as successful as among other peoples. Yet with Anglo-Saxon determination they were holding on in Egypt, in Syria and elsewhere.

One of the most stirring things discussed at this Conference was slavery in Africa. The Arab slave-trader was still cursing Africa. His religion permitted this traffic. The trade on the east coast had been mostly stopped, the vigilance of British gunboats being most effective, but to the northward there was still an open passage. On January 1st, 1877, slavery in Portuguese Africa had been formally abolished. But Central Africa was the plague spot.

Three great missionary societies beside those already active in the south and along the coast had now in Africa well-established stations far in the interior. The Scot Presbyterian churches united to found one on Lake Nyassa, and they had been most successful. The same was true of the Church Missionary Society Station established on Lake Nyanza. The London Missionary Society did a like noble work by penetrating to Lake Tanganyika, the missionaries in these three cases being in the pioneer footsteps of the explorers to the central regions of the great continent. These three interior missions were considered strate-

gic locations, where successful work was being done to stop tribal wars and cannibal feasts, to put a check on marauding expeditions for catching slaves.

The help of woman in mission fields, neglected in the early development of the work, was after three-fourths of a century fully recognized. In 1828 Miss Bird was admitted to several zenanas, really beginning all that beneficence since carried on with such marked worth.

Reports given in from many great mission fields were of the most encouraging tone. In India educated natives were seeing more and more the beauty of Christianity, even though not accepting it. Modern civilization was actively at work changing India for the better.

No farther back than 1835 it was impossible for Morrison even to enter China as a missionary. In order to start a college for educating the Chinese he had to set it up in far-away Malacca among Chinese emigrants. Morrison waited persistently at the closed gates of China to be rewarded finally. By the time of this Conference work there was well under way.

The remarkable change in Japan had set into definite shape by the time of the Mildmay Conference. In 1872 the missionaries and English residents in Yokohama united in a week of prayer. Some Japanese students attended these meetings. A mighty uplift occurred. That year the first native church was organized and though of but eleven members it was the beginning of all the native growth afterward. A theological school was opened.

One field showing supremest success was on the island of Oceanica. Nearly all those scattered groups had been won to Christ. Leading in this grand work were the London Society, the Wesleyan Society, and the American Board. So marked were the Hawaiians by the true spirit of Christianity that they were themselves sending missionaries to other islands. In Australia the aborigines were yielding but poor results. Their inveterate migratory habits had left one important station established by the Wesleyans without a single native to attend, while other societies had suffered similar misfortunes. New Guinea had been successfully entered by the London Society besides two Australian Societies. Off the northeast coast of that great mass of land the Wesleyans had started a mission on some small islands. Chinamen coming to those localities as laborers were met by missionaries and work among them was begun.

## CHAPTER XLII

Ten years passed and another great missionary meeting assembled, known as the Exeter Hall Centenary Conference. This Conference of 1888 was on a vaster scale than any of the preceding ones. In it gathered fifteen hundred delegates representing one hundred forty-one missionary societies, sixty-eight of these from United States and Canada, fifty-four from Great Britain with thirteen hundred delegates, while the continent sent men from seventeen societies and the colonies were represented by two societies. An intense enthusiasm marked the proceedings. The foreign missionary spirit greatly aided home missions and held the home church to the simple evangelical truths of the gospel. It was declared at the Conference that Whitefield and Wesley in their mission to Georgia and in field preaching taught the Anglo-Saxon race the true missionary spirit, as the work of Robert Haldane taught the spirit of home missions. The Conference deemed that the oracles of God were in these times committed to the English people, making them the ambassadors of Christ to other races.

But blocking this message stood three great obstacles, for the removal of which the Exeter Hall Conference besought civilized man—the opium traffic, that of liquors, and legal protection of the social vice. To the African people another evil was carried, fire-arms, for such as could procure them were enabled to

be more destructive in their slave hunting and in their tribal wars.

The Bible was now presented to the world's people in about three hundred languages. The Bible Society and the Tract Societies were crowded to the intensest activity, the former issuing four million Bibles in a single year. Of tracts twenty-six millions also were thrown out one year.

Grandly shown at this Conference as never before was the wisdom of setting women at work. In 1887 Bishop Thoburn returned to India from America with a body of recruits for his mission. Of these fifteen were women, two were men. Native women, like native men, were themselves heartily at work in missionary duties. Of one hundred eighty-six native helpers among the Tamils and Telugus, forty-three were women. The native women in China and the western women teachers in Japan were everywhere welcome. The example and memory of Mrs. Moffatt in South Africa, of Mrs. Hills at Athens, and of other devoted women in other localities were an inspiration at home and abroad. Woman's Boards by the score had been organized with thousands of auxiliaries in England and in America. On a ship going to England just before the Exeter Hall Conference an American delegate made the acquaintance of a man who said, "You know, I had no interest in foreign missions; I cared nothing for missions, but my wife became heart and soul interested in them and the consequence is that she fired me with enthusiasm, and I am going to London to attend the Conference."

The glance given Catholic missions in India showed

above two millions and a half adherents, nearly three thousand European missionaries, a hundred thousand pupils in the schools. The Catholics were also successful in China, among the Indians of America, in the far-away islands of Oceanica and elsewhere.

At that Conference glimpses were given of the fruits of missionary zeal from other parts of the world. Africa poured out not in vain a pathetic appeal to missionaries. In the Transvaal mission, the Wesleyans, having begun with no place of worship, now had four hundred stations and preaching places, with thirty thousand members. So remarkable was the success on the Fiji Islands that while fifty years before there had been not a Christian, now there was not a heathen. So thorough was the change that only nine foreign missionaries were on the island, the churches being supplied with more than three thousand native preachers, and the forty thousand native children being taught by native teachers.

Again those interested in missions gathered in an Ecumenical Conference, this time in 1900 in New York. Hundreds of delegates poured in from all parts of the world, seven hundred of them being missionaries. Every day and evening the people crowded Carnegie Hall to the utmost, compelling overflow meetings at adjacent churches till it was said that two hundred thousand attended the various assemblies.

It was said that the nineteenth century was one of experiment in missions rather than one of achievement. The look forward was to much vaster results in the twentieth century. Still the successes won,



the names honored, the heroic self-sacrifice, were regarded as most inspiring. Missions were deemed as one field of Christian work that God had supremely blessed. It was worth a century of beginnings to report, as was done, that there were five thousand mission stations, fifteen thousand out stations, thirteen thousand western men and women in foreign fields, with sixty-two thousand native helpers and a million and a half of living converts and other millions gone to their eternal home. On the medical dispensaries seventeen million patients waited each year. Chalmers had said that foreign missions act on home missions not by exhaustion but by fermentation. Dr. Duff declared that the church which is not evangelistic will soon cease to be evangelical.

The worth of the printed page was shown again and again. A Hindu merchant on his travels was given a Testament. Later he came to baptism with all his family. A robber band in the mountains read a Christian tract in their fastness and were changed to honest men, twelve of them applying for baptism.

While the Conference was sitting the famine was severe in India, and the assembly proceeded to organize a famine relief. In that famine of 1900 the American Board took up two thousand orphans, the Methodist Episcopal Missions accepted as many more, while other missions also did nobly for the suffering. Pundita Ramabai was busy at her noble vocation, having taken three hundred widows to her Poona home in the famine of 1897. She set those waifs at varied industries, housekeeping and other indoor work, fruit raising, farming and the like out

doors. Sir Henry Ramsey had founded a home for lepers at Almora, in this noble beneficence leading all others. Miss Mary Reed, caring for these unfortunate ones, was smitten with the disease, henceforth devoting her life to them.

The education of the youth of India was placing them at one with the student body of the world. The philosophy taught was in some ways leading to the personality of God, yet the Hindu schools were teaching their pupils to oppose Christianity. The government schools, in their efforts to be non-partisan, often had a trend toward agnosticism and materialism. Missionary schools led most of their pupils to Christianity. Forty thousand students crowded the colleges of India, nearly twice as many as were in all the colleges of Great Britain and Ireland. So eager were the young for education that the attendance was steadily increasing. In other eastern countries the education of the natives was grandly increasing and the press was tireless.

Literature of a high grade was lacking, but efforts were made to meet the need. As the Philippines felt the touch of the new order, they were clamoring for the Bible, it not having been given them in three hundred years of Spanish dominancy.

## CHAPTER XLIII

A vision of the present shows that righteousness and charity, love to mankind and longing for peace, have come to the world as never before. The religious life has been found to be as broad as God's dealings with humanity. If the principles of this life seem to have come slower than the tremendous industrial and commercial spirit, they are still present and active. While stupendous fortunes have accumulated, vast sections of them have in many instances been turned into channels bringing comfort, education, advance to multitudes of people. The multiplied means of rapid travel has brought the people into touch with their fellows vastly more than before, the four nations by that becoming better acquainted and being made more sympathetic.

In London science joined hands with Christianity to remove the plague spots of vice, ignorance and crime. Possibly that city showed the extreme degradation of the Anglo-Saxon life. Better control of disease by medical practice and sanitation has much ameliorated conditions there. The work of various orders of Sisters, the Salvation Army, and the churches constantly aided in lifting many out of the quagmire.

Two settlements in London can well be studied. A young man, Quinton Hogg, having left Eton, undertook work among the outcast boys of London. To learn the best ways of doing this he turned street

arab himself for several months, blacking boots, sleeping under archways and by other means learning the ways and spirit of the street boys. Then he opened a ragged school, to which he attracted the boys. The aid of philanthropic people was enlisted and out of that beginning arose the Regent Polytechnic Institution, in which the sum of a hundred thousand pounds was finally invested. In addition to private gifts, money was given to the undertaking by the London County Council. At the untimely death of the projector flags of the city were placed at half-mast.

It was also at the East End that another settlement was made among a population said to be most brutal, their habits disgusting, and their ideal idleness. "By them the honest man and right-living woman were scorned as impracticable." The masses were joyless, the young hopeless. Into such a locality in 1872 Mr. Barnett went with his young wife to a parish where eight thousand people lived on a space of one hundred nine thousand five hundred square yards. This young couple opened the deserted church, started schools and Bible classes, organized a relief committee and other parish machinery. Many of the people, instead of trying to meet their own wants, came to the rector constantly begging. Mr. Barnett and his wife, visiting Oxford, told of the situation at the East End, arousing spirited young men to save the people from such conditions. The rector suggested the purchase of a house as headquarters for University men to stay a longer or shorter time, working among the degraded people. This move-

ment grew and a larger house was erected, a prominent leader in the work being Arnold Toynbee, whose death at an early date led them to name that building Toynbee Hall. Twenty young University men lived there at one time, toiling to lessen the ignorance and vice of the suffering masses about them. Toynbee Hall has a history known as widely as Christianity goes, and has many imitations in the great cities of the world.

All efforts to suppress Christianity have been flat failures. Direct science could not be made into a cult. It would yield no spiritual aliment. So, too, the claim put forward for humanism, setting humanity as a whole in place of Deity, was a failure. A Metaphysical Society formed in 1869 had discussions in the freest spirit, to which came men of various shades of faith, Gladstone, Martineau, Manning, Tennyson, Argyl, Huxley, Ruskin. But metaphysics could not equal the high help given the human spirit by religion, so this society perished, it was said, out of charity and love.

Another principle fostered by science as well as by Christianity was that of rights. Slavery was obliterated and religious persecution lessened. More than ever before was a chance made for all men. Spencer said, "The end which statesmen should keep in view as higher than all other ends is the formation of character." The gift of rights in franchise, in social and religious life, was slow but certain. It was one of the most striking fruits of rights in England that John Burns, though in the ranks of laboring men, should in the formation of the Liberal Ministry in the first

decade of the twentieth century, be given a place in the Cabinet.

As, the heat of controversies over, matters of science and religion cooled, it was found that some teachings claimed by science were greatly modified, and on the other hand some positions held by religious teachers were left in the rear. It was urged that the apparent discrepancies between science and the Bible were owing to human theories drawn from both, not to any real difference, since nature was the work of God and the Bible the word of God.

With the progress so enriching life has come a multitude of blessings to woman. By increased culture and opportunities, lives and homes have been made more joyous and given broader outlook. Privilege and duty were more clearly defined. Energetic women like Miss Bees and Miss Somerville worked for educational chances for girls till high schools were opened to them, and most naturally colleges were needed, and that need was met in opening Newnham and Girton, and later others.

If in high realms of spirit woman was crowding upward, she also became efficient in humbler ministries of life. To the toiling and underpaid of the great cities devoted women supplied food at the cheapest rates, and to those penniless even without pay. The sisterhood of the Anglican Church opened houses where penny soups and two-penny lunches could be obtained, these stands throughout the cities being thronged by hungry men,—toilers or those out of work,—presenting most pathetic scenes of need and gratitude. This pioneer work was followed by other

sects, the Salvation Army making a most notable record in this field. To aid the poor to aid themselves charitable organizations opened rooms where wives and daughters of the needy could do sewing, by that earning a pittance to relieve their families. Said George Macdonald:

“The tide of action in these days flows more swiftly in the hearts of women, whence has resulted so much that is nobler, so much that is paltry, according to the nature of the heart in which it swells.”

## CHAPTER XLIV

In America the religious life first found an open field. The old world had the hateful words, inquisition, nonconformity, toleration, dissenter. If passing whiffs of these hateful things were wafted to the new world they were gradually stilled so that complete religious liberty finally prevailed. Men persecuted for their religious opinions in different nations turned longing eyes toward America, hopeful of finding opportunities denied them in Europe. Their hopes were not in vain. Yet not religion alone led men to America. Political unrest was almost as vivid as that of religion. With the printing press, the discovery of the new continent, the Renascence, the invention of gunpowder and the compass, and with the broadening of knowledge, came the Reformation and incipient Democracy.

From the first, two high principles were uppermost in the thought and purpose of the immigrants,—religious liberty and civil freedom. Yet they brought with them oversea some of the old-world imperfections. So dissent to Dissenters in Massachusetts was made a crime, and dissent to Episcopalians in Virginia was also made a crime. But there was in the new world in its open life, the vast unknown expanse, in the enlargement of vision, that which would neither continue to suffer nor to inflict such limitations.

The Puritans who mostly settled other parts of New England like the little group of Pilgrims at Ply-



mouth were in search of rights, of religious service and self-government. But their Puritanism was insistent that all must attend Puritan churches or be mulcted. Heretics were run out of the colonies, Quakers hanged, and other ways of civil and religious liberty were violated. That was at first. Gradually a better spirit grew up, for it was impossible that tyranny even of the many should flourish in America. The free spirit gradually stopped the hanging of witches, just as it opened the gates of jails to those imprisoned for religious opinions.

The religious life like the ethnological life of America was made up of many diverse peoples and creeds. New York was settled by the Dutch. In Holland it was uncomfortable for those differing from the Established Church, and these dissenters, refugees, sought freedom of worship and colonized Manhattan. The directors designed the young city as an asylum for refugees from every land. "No person," they said, "professing faith in God by Jesus Christ shall at any time be in any way disquieted or questioned for any differences of opinion." French Protestants came to Manhattan in great numbers as later they went to South Carolina. The Dutch settlement there was more forward in religious liberty than Massachusetts or Virginia. Sweden, too, sent its freedom-loving immigrants in search of rights; large numbers of them, furnished with religious teachers from the start, settled on the peninsula of Delaware.

To Penn, as he was planning his province, "government was a part of religion itself, an emanation

of divine power, capable of kindness, goodness and charity." Philadelphia was prophetic of national independence. New Jersey, thanks to the Quaker spirit founding it upon humane principles, was started with the purpose that freedom of judgment, conscience and worship should be granted to every peaceful citizen. To that province also came many Scot Presbyterians from the prelatical persecutions of their own country, blending in the new world love of popular liberty with religious enthusiasm.

Lord Baltimore when his little fleet was preparing to go with colonists to Maryland, put it under the protection of God, of the Virgin Mary, and of St. Ignatius. Some Jesuits included in the immigrants at once on landing set up a cross and offered mass in an Indian hut. While it was distinctly a Catholic country it allowed all to cultivate their religious life as they would. In South Carolina the Anglican Church was put foremost, yet Dissenters came in great numbers. The French Huguenots thronged there till the colony and later the state took much of its caste from them. Faneuil Hall, the cradle of liberty of the north, was the gift of a Huguenot's son. North Carolina when being founded had no special plans for religious life. People of many creeds went there and many with little dependence on the sects or creeds. Freedom of conscience was their joy. By act of the incipient assembly freedom of religion was established in spite of attempts to make the Anglican Church dominant. As late as the middle of the eighteenth century in Georgia General Oglethorpe sought a spot where one could worship

in the simplicity of his own way without fear or persecution. To such a region people outside of Great Britain came, from Germany Salzburgers, Moravians and others, pious, peaceful, industrious, finding the asylum they sought. There also John Wesley and Charles Wesley obtained, if roughly, help in their religious development.

As time passed and the colonies grew in size they became more insistent on their rights, religious, social, commercial, political. A century before the Revolutionary War incipient steps were taken toward independence. The union of church and state in New England worked badly and a similar condition in Virginia was put into bloody execution by Governor Dale. When Andros was forcing the New England colonies to give up their cherished charters the ministers in many instances preached what was considered sedition and were so militant as to plan resistance to that minion of bad English government. The last call of the United Colonies was a call for the defense of the Protestant religion. On the accession of William Third the new charters granted freedom to every sect save to the Romanists. Gradually from that time royal authority was used to give wider privileges to all in America. A law in South Carolina depriving Dissenters of political rights was repealed by the King in Council and laws in other colonies favoring one denomination to the injury of another, were also annulled by the King.

Though the Anglican Church in Virginia was the state church it gradually allowed other sects to increase. Up to the Revolutionary War that dom-

inancy continued and as good a governor as Sir William Berkley could thank God they had no schools and printing in that colony, praying to be kept from both, afraid that learning had brought heresy and disobedience and the sects, while the printing press had divulged them and put forth libels against the best of governments. The conduct of church matters was democratic since many took a hand in them whether in the parishes of the south or in the Congregational churches of the north. Town meetings and parish meetings were the seed plots of liberty.

The expanding area of settlement, the terrible Indian wars, the French encroachments, aided the increasing colonists in dropping sharp sectarianism and in working together. If the soldiers clad in homespun held religious meetings before Louisburg, it mattered little to them if all present did not agree in every shade of Puritan belief. When fighting for the safety of their homes, of their wives and children, neither did it matter, if the stout pioneer could endure the hard march and could shoot well, whether he was a Congregationalist from Boston, or a Baptist from Rhode Island, or of the Reformed Church of New York, or a heretic not belonging to any sect.

Near the middle of the eighteenth century a series of religious revivals took place in America as had begun in England and on the continent, and for that matter across Asia, since great moral upheavals moved the old imperfect religions as far away as Pekin and Manchuria. As early as 1734 Jonathan Edwards, pastor at Northampton, Massachusetts, a

graduate of Yale, a man of most marked mental and spiritual forces, had led his congregation to great intensity of the religious life, large numbers being converted. Among the first converts were some very vicious persons who were induced to a better life; others were aroused, and the work increased until out of a population of eleven hundred it was estimated that in six months three hundred were thus changed. The revival spread beyond; Deerfield, Enfield, and a score of other towns were stirred; and Northfield, to give in the next century D. L. Moody to the Christian church, was reached by the movement. Accounts of it were published in England; John Wesley wrote in his Journal:

"Surely this is the Lord's doings and it is marvelous in our eyes."

Nor was it confined to New England. For out to New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania the excitement went. Indeed, before the work of Edwards, the Tennents, a remarkable family, a father and three sons, coming from Ireland, settled at Neshaming, not far from Philadelphia. There they built a rude log house which they opened as a school for young men for the Presbyterian ministry. That log college was the germ of Princeton College. This family became burning lights, their students catching the same spirit so that the revival begun north by Edwards to be doubly successful had only to fuse with the one already going on in Pennsylvania. The Tennents and their pupils not only welcomed the revival but

also Whitefield in his flaming tours. With Whitefield the Tennents and Jonathan Edwards will be remembered as the leaders in this Great Awakening in America as Wesley and others are remembered in the English revival. No doubt the mental and spiritual uplift as well as the increased unity of sentiment aroused by these revivals in the colonies prepared them to be enduring through the contests following, the French and Indian War, and that prolonged struggle for national formation and national independence.

And there was need of such a moral and religious revival, for on the other hand evil forces were terribly at work. The low state of education left mental vacuity, the lack of organized churches in most of the communities, and the fewness of ministers, left great sections without religious influences. Scepticism grew, immorality prevailed, men gloried in their departure from the straight paths of their fathers. A blight in morals and religion had spread over the land. The gangrene of slavery was at work and New England rum fostered an increasing curse of intemperance. The revival helped to change all this, setting men by the ten thousand on the other way.

Still education had not been wholly neglected. In England gifts to Virginia had been made for this object. So scattered were the colonists that schools were poorly sustained. The College of William and Mary, founded in 1692, was carried on with certain proofs of success. Harvard for scores of years had been blessing New England. With the opening of the new century ten venerable men meeting at Brad-

ford, Connecticut, each laying down a few books said, "I give these books for the founding of a college in this colony." Thus Yale began in 1702. Schools of lower grades, partly on the plan of free schools, later to be the glory of the nation, were set up, especially at the north. Private schools were not uncommon while many ministers taught pupils privately, fitting them for the colleges and for the professions. Europe was constantly sending over cultured men who did not leave the professions wholly unsupplied.

## CHAPTER XLV

During the decades before the Revolutionary War the great denominations mostly assumed forms leading to the vast growth later to be attained. In the southern colonies, mostly founded by the upper classes of England, the Anglican Church was set up as the state church as at home, one purpose usually stated in the charters being to establish the "true Christian faith and religion as now professed in the Church of England." In New England the dominant sect was the Congregationalists, their polity and doctrine largely patterned after the little colony at Plymouth. Under this influence the churches stood together for divine service without ritual, for an educated ministry, and for a unit of self-government in each congregation. But the stout Calvinism was being met by a stout Arminianism. Finally the Arminian doctrines became the practical teaching of all the American churches.

The class of people founding the Presbyterian church was such as to foretell the history of that great denomination in America. Scot Covenanters fresh from the bloody persecutions that they so keenly felt were wrongs against soul and body, came for freedom. Scot Highlanders, many of them like the Walloons of the old Turanian hot-blooded stock, earliest settlers of western Europe, also came as Covenanters. Scotch-Irish flocked in from the north of Ireland, refugees from Protestant persecutions.



Among the educated ministers sent from the old country was John Cuthbertson from the Presbytery of Scotland. He nobly did the circuit act before that way became popular with the Methodists. This man formed an immense circuit through central Pennsylvania as far west as Pittsburg and went eastward out of the bounds of his circuit to Rhode Island. In one year he preached on one hundred twenty days and rode horseback twenty-five hundred miles, crossing unbridged streams, through unbroken forests, in danger from Indians and ferocious beasts, storms, cold and snow. At such work this tireless preacher persisted for thirty-nine years, traveling seventy thousand miles, baptizing nearly two thousand children and marrying two hundred forty couples.

The Baptist Dissenters in England were forced to be Dissenters on coming to America. Hoping in the new country to find freedom for their peculiar tenets they were to be disappointed not only in New England but in some other colonies. Roger Williams had been driven out for teaching that not infants should be baptized but adults and they believers. The first president of Harvard College, Henry Dunster, was compelled to resign, owing to his views on baptism. Finally the Baptists built a church in Boston costing sixty pounds, but on its occupancy a great hubbub arose, their leading men were brought before the court and as no laws were found against them the court proceeded to enact such laws, shutting the church when the poor Baptists had to worship out of doors. But after some years of persecution and oppression they were permitted to build in Puritan Bos-

ton. In New York and Virginia and farther south they suffered disgraceful treatment. As later in the eighteenth century they pushed westward into Mississippi, Louisiana and Missouri, their ministers were arrested and abused. The tireless itinerants sought out the scattered people, frequented social gatherings, fairs, markets, musters, going anywhere they could meet people and preach to them. When put into prison they preached to the crowds collected at the windows. Everywhere possible they organized churches. One Clark, converted in a Methodist meeting, later joined the Baptists and went on foot preaching in Kentucky and when presented with a horse soon gave it away. To Missouri and Illinois he went, swimming streams, hunting up the scattered people, if lost in the woods sleeping under a covering of boughs.

The treatment of the Quakers in Massachusetts is a story the reading world would be glad had never occurred. The first Quakers in Boston outraged decency as in some instances they had done in England. But that four persons, one of them a woman, should be hung for fanatic actions entitling them to a place in bedlam rather than to the hangman's knot, is a dreadful stain upon the brilliant page of New England colonization. But finally the sober sense of the people at large rescinded the fateful law that murdered Quakers as it did the one murdering witches. The last Quaker punished suffered whipping in 1667. Freedom came to them in 1691 under the charter of William Third. In states south of New England they were also outrageously treated. When settling

in New Jersey they held religious meetings at Burlington in a tent before a building was erected. Says Bancroft:

"Neither faith nor wealth nor race was respected. Pennsylvania, Delaware, West New Jersey, and in some measure Rhode Island and North Carolina were Quaker states."

The Catholics in Maryland, after being dominated for a while by Puritan bigotry, were able by the help of the powerful family founding it to regain their rights. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, a very prominent Catholic and signer of the Declaration of Independence exerted great influence for them. Living to the age of ninety-six till 1832, he was the last of those signing that immortal document. Gradually in spite of the penal laws against them the Catholics started church organizations in most of the large cities. Their superb church organization was most valuable but down to the Revolution only feeble results were reached.

The teachings of Universalism that "the final holiness of all men through the grace of God was revealed in Jesus Christ," like other shades of religious beliefs and life, found a place in America. From the start it was a religion of free thinking. A few preachers here and there in the colonies as well as obscure sects believed in that doctrine. Some believed in the restoration of all, even the lost souls in hell. Now and then some pastor was dismissed for these declarations and the Presbyterian synods in the central colonies took action against such teachings among their people.

The stout Governor Stuyvesant forbade conventicles in Manhattan since all not belonging to the Reformed Church were so considered. But gradually other denominations found a place in the city and when it fell into the hands of the British the governors tried to set up exclusively the Anglican Church in spite of the liberal laws. The other sects being largely in the majority were led in resistance to this course by the Dutch, who bravely stuck for their rights. At the opening of the eighteenth century the province had fifty churches, one-half of them Dutch Reformed. To educate their young men they founded Rutgers College, locating it at New Brunswick, New Jersey, to accommodate New York and Pennsylvania. In the Revolutionary War the theater of campaigning was mostly where the Dutch Church had grown up so that their congregations were scattered and their churches destroyed. In spite of this these people sent a memorial in 1780 to the New York Legislature declaring the war just and necessary.

Not till New York was occupied by the English could the Lutherans form church organizations. But they had already started churches in liberal Pennsylvania, and begged the old country for pastors learned and well versed in the Scriptures to lead their children in conduct and in conversation. Lutheranism stood for a religious life that was humble, devout, unobtrusive, joyous and buoyant, living in mystical union with God. Count Zinzendorf, the great leader of the Moravians, came into Pennsylvania organizing his conference and teaching his

peculiar tenets. This caused the Lutherans to send to Europe for some one to counteract the Count's work, resulting in the coming of Muhlenberg, who became an apostle to the Dutch in that colony and beyond.

Methodism was one of the latest denominations to become started in America before the Revolutionary War. Among some Irish Palatines was a local preacher, Philip Embury, and a remarkable woman, Barbara Heck. Many of these people before exemplary became profane and drunken, falling also into other vices. She appealed to Embury to preach to these immigrants and in his own house with an audience of four people he set up Methodism in America. That was in 1766. Captain Webb, barrack master at Albany, hearing of them, himself made a local preacher by Wesley, came to New York and preached for them in full uniform. Webb induced Wesley to send preachers for the rising work, first Pilmoor and Boardman and in 1772 Francis Asbury, who was to become first bishop in that great sect in America. Soon a conference was called at Philadelphia, having ten ministers representing over eleven hundred members, with a network of circuits extending over most of the colonies. No doubt the religious intensity aroused by these evangelists aided the colonists to endure the great stress of the Revolutionary War. As the war opened several of the preachers returned to England but Asbury remained.

As the various states proceeded to frame their own constitutions there was a universal purpose that

religious beliefs and practices should be free. In the Virginia Convention the first draft suggested toleration of all religions. Madison objected to the word toleration as implying an established religion, rather having said, as was adopted, "All men are equally entitled to the free service of religion according to the dictates of conscience." Jefferson declared, "God hath created the mind free, and to suffer the civil magistrate to introduce his power into the field of opinion destroys all religious liberty." In Maryland the old bitter contest between Catholics and Protestants was allayed by the new struggle so that the Legislature made all equal in the law. In South Carolina although being settled near the coast by loyal Englishmen and the uplands more by those who had a grievance, the sects in final adjustment were practically granted equality. Nearly the same situation was in North Carolina, where the religious scruples of the upland people termed Regulators had to be heeded. When Rhode Island in the final touches of its new constitution found that a clause of its old charter remained, disfranchising Catholics, it was promptly stricken out. Intensely patriotic Vermont when it applied in vain for admittance into the new confederacy required every denomination to observe the Lord's day by keeping up some form of worship, and further that its representatives to the Legislature should declare their belief in God, in the Scriptures, and in the Protestant religion. In Connecticut and other New England states the new Legislatures were slow to change the property relations from an establishment

to full equality of the denominations but in all it was gradually reached. Still, taxes to support the standing order were insisted on for a space into the nineteenth century.

The Continental Congress as far as it was capable of doing so brushed aside the favors to any one sect by the colonial laws. The Federal Constitution and the First Amendment to it precluded forever any establishment of religion in America. It is no wonder that Gladstone from his high insight and broad statesmanship could say:

“As the British Constitution is the most subtle organization which has proceeded from progressive history, so the American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man.”

Says a historian:

“The American Revolution was but the application of the principles of the Reformation to civil government.”

The influence of the American Revolution upon Europe was immediate and marked. The scepticism in France was greatly lessened by the devout trust in God shown by the Americans. The Emperor of Austria, impelled by the example of liberty in the new republic, proclaimed freedom of religion in his dominion. The separation of church and state in France marking the first decade of the twentieth century, the steps toward it in Spain, are alike

brought forward by the success of such separation in America.

With independence gained, the national expansion may be said truly to have begun. What was but a drizzle over the Alleghanies before the Revolutionary War now became a flood. The emigrants nurtured in eastern homes and under the influence of an older community took with them the high principles of their eastern culture and progress. Schouler writes, "The immigrant west took with him his implements, a strong arm, and a stout heart and a loving helpmeet, and God over all. These were his dependence and his thought."

Not alone the Baptist itinerary went with the settlers over the mountains. The Methodist itinerants were sent along even before the fullness of the migration. Following them as early as 1788 Bishop Asbury crossed the mountains, organized a Conference out of those tireless itinerants at Keyswoods, Tennessee, appointing them to extend circuits over all the region. These men did the adventurous work of hunting out the families, preaching the gospel, building rude churches, marrying the young couples, burying the dead. But even before these itinerants local preachers were at work through much of the region. Let three of them, William Shaw, Thomas Lakin, and John Jacobs be honored in history for their superior preaching powers and vast heroic toil. The people dubbed them the three bishops. Other denominations also did noble work in the new west, one minister often having charge of two or more congregations, adopting in fact the itine-



rant system of the Methodists. In some instances a community or a village in the east would almost entirely pass together to the west taking with them their pastor and schoolmaster. Thus in 1817 there passed through Haverhill, Massachusetts, a train of sixteen wagons from Durham, Maine, with a hundred twenty people with their pastor, for Ohio.

More formidable to the emigrants than mountains or prairies or swollen rivers were the native races, savages with human instincts and backward ethics. They deemed themselves owners of the country, its broad hunting grounds and rivers of fish. The general government and mostly the territorial governments made treaties with the tribes to find them again and again infringed and broken either by the Indians or by the imperious, avaricious whites. In vain did Washington and after him other presidents labor to do justice to the tribes throughout the middle west. At an early time a territory was planned for them exclusively where they could be the wards of the general government alone. Gradually after bloody wars the decimated tribes were forced into that territory. The natives once removed to the Territory were given schools, teachers, missionaries. But the high spirit of those splendid savages could poorly appreciate even the paternal interest of the government and the Christian interest of the missionaries. The cattle given by the government for stock raising they would kill and eat, while the farming machinery sent them they would break up and use for fuel.

Not only among the tribes collected in the Terri-

tory did the churches establish missions, but among those still scattered over the west. For these purposes the Catholics with their traditions for kindness among the natives had special success, as did the Quakers with similar traditions in Pennsylvania and elsewhere. The old story of missionaries sacrificed by exposure and zeal was here and there repeated. In Oregon a whole missionary station was thus blotted out under the tomahawk and the flaming torch. A few tribes were so hostile that missions could not be opened among them. The persistent, patient toil of the various missionaries has told. By the twentieth century most of the nations gathered in the Territory or still on reservations have more or less accepted Christianity. It remains also for the same century, by incorporating the Indian Territory into the state of Oklahoma, to give citizenship rights to the natives gathered there, to allow land and permanent place and to put the ballot in the hands of ninety thousand aborigines. An Indian from Kansas sits in the American Congress.

## CHAPTER XLVI

The free religious thought and practice in America, not having ceased from colonial times, still lead devout souls to this continent. Most of the world migrations like the Celtic and Teutonic to western Europe are hidden in the dimness of prehistoric time. But the one now thronging America is in modern knowledge and open vision. Railways and steamboats superseding the ox team and camel and horse, have made it possible for a million a year to cross continents and oceans to reach this land of promise.

These immigrants are mostly from lands with a thousand years of civilization and Christianity. Throngs of the Roman Catholic faith and of the Greek church have hurried to our shores. Among them are some sceptical free thinkers and even avowed atheists. Nearly all are deficient in the principles of free institutions and the spirit of our evangelical Christianity. They have quietly exerted an expansive force on the American spirit. The Puritanism of the north had kept the vision narrow in that part of the country, while at the south slavery had hindered progress along best lines. Influences brought by the migrants have been active in changing these things. The religious life has largely ceased to be sectional and provincial. The American Sabbath is in a fair way to be lost since such a vast European influence has come to this country. Possibly some of the Puritan exactions were of

human make instead of coming from heaven's will, but as a holy day it is passing. The Jews, observing another day as the Sabbath, are clamoring for legal rights to work on Sunday. The Second Advents put in similar claim. Other undesirable elements have been brought oversea by the immigrants.

During the earlier movement little systematic attention was given to the spiritual needs of these incoming floods. But in the later decades the churches represented in the lands from which so many have been coming have done nobly to meet the religious needs of their people on their arrival in the United States. The superior organization of the Roman Catholic Church has been used with good effect in meeting the foreigners of that sect. A similar effort all along has been put forth by the Lutherans to meet the needs of those of that faith, their success also having been most noble. As the Jews have flocked to America from the bloody persecutions of Russia and other lands their people already in America have used great sums to aid those seeking a land of liberty and rights. Other sects organized in the old world have done much to meet their fellow worshipers as they landed in the United States. It is alarming to think what would be the spiritual condition of these masses had not the churches met them with familiar ministrations. Most of the sects already established in the United States had a fatal spirit of letting the immigrants alone. Probably the American principle that one denomination should not actively proselyte another, carried out in this country as nowhere else, caused this neglect.

But the various churches are awakening to the fact that after all done by the Catholics and the Lutherans and by the Greek Church much more should be done to evangelize these masses flooding America. To this end many influences have lately been set in motion. Representatives of more than thirty denominations meet the migrants at Ellis Island, New York, to help them in the new conditions. People are addressed in their native tongues, are aided in getting onward to their destination, have the New Testament and tracts in their own language put into their hands, direction given to churches and to other religious helps. What is done at Ellis Island is done more or less fully at other great ports of entrance, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Boston, Baltimore. Missions are being established in the congested slums, college settlements, temperance houses, deaconess' homes, institutional churches, libraries set up, and other beneficent projects to bring forward these people to better life and ways. Besides these special plans of good to the foreign people a constant ingathering to the churches all over the land is going on.

The fateful visit to Jamestown in 1619 of the Dutch man-of-war to sell blacks as slaves was not wholly welcomed by the colonists, but the slave trade and the use of slaves by the plantation owners were made obligatory by the home government. The evil genius then let loose has from that day to this been an ominous presence in American life. Other colonies followed Virginia. Ship owners in New England engaged in the nefarious traffic. Only small num-

bers, however, were used in the northern colonies. The horrors of the passage to America prostitute the words that would be used to describe them. In Pennsylvania their lot was ameliorated so they were helped to mental and moral uplift and were protected in the marriage relation. Not only were Negroes and Redskins thus enslaved but the home government picked up stray children on the streets of London and other cities whom they sent as slaves to the colonies. Convicts and even prisoners of war were sent to the same bondage.

In those stirring decades the Quakers took early steps in opposition to the system. The German immigrants in Pennsylvania tried to make the condition of the slaves more easy. Through the influence of George Fox the Quakers of that colony were forbidden to engage in importing Negroes and when owning them were to use them well. So earnestly was the matter pressed that by 1780 not a single slave was in possession of a Quaker. In South Carolina the Salzburgers thought it right to keep slaves if their Christianization was undertaken. As the Revolutionary period approached with its hot insistence of rights many of the colonists, more especially at the North, where the slave labor was not very remunerative, grew dissatisfied with slavery. In spite of what the Quakers had done, says the historian, L. W. Bacon:

“The great anti-slavery society of the period in question was the Methodist Society. It publicly declared in the Conference of 1780 that slavery is contrary to the laws of God, man and nature, and hurtful to so-

ciety; contrary to the dictates of conscience and pure religion, adding, that which we would not that others should do to us and ours."

As time passed the cleavage between slavery and freedom grew broader and broader. The Christian consciousness in the churches and out of them came to feel more and more that what was morally wrong could not be made legally right. As the struggle between the great churches, Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist, taking grounds against slavery, caused the sections of those denominations at the south to separate from the north portions. At the south men appealed to the Bible in support of their institution by that claiming their cause to be just. Many of the abolitionists, pleading the apathy of the churches, impatient that God should be understood as allowing such evil, drifted into infidelity. Gradually it became the absorbing theme in all life, social, religious and literary, while in politics it stirred a very blaze of conflict.

When the Civil War broke out the churches of the north sprang forward in patriotic defense of the union. Pulpits no longer gave forth an uncertain sound. No longer were preachers gagged. As chaplains, officers in the line, as privates in the ranks, they went to the war. As if the religious consciousness had been too long suppressed, Christian men along with others rushed to the front. Churches and devout homes were denuded of their strong men. Into camp and battle, into bivouac and hospital, they carried the habit of prayer.

Nor was it less a religious question at the south. The split in the sects twenty years before over the institution had intensified the spirit. Now it was to be settled by the awful gauge of battle on more than two thousand hard-fought fields.

With the blacks at last made free by the Emancipation Proclamation and a large part of the south occupied by Union forces, the various denominations of the north entered on a more or less formed purpose to help forward the liberated slaves in the various forces of civilization. Teachers were sent to open schools among them, chaplains were furnished their temporary villages, work was given them in the army. During the decades following, the northern churches pushed their organized work among the negroes, founding permanent schools and colleges, putting up church buildings, educating teachers, professional men and preachers, directing to industrial ways, to home making, and to a thousand elements of a better life. To the honor of the religious sentiment north and south, if slow when these people were slaves, let it now be said that it is doing vastly for the blacks. High-minded persons in each race have seen that both must rise together. The superb individual positions attained by negroes in business, in art, poetry, eloquence, the professions, and in many other activities, suggest what could be reached after a thousand years of advance in civilization. They are intensely patriotic, lovers of home life, pious. At the Inter-church Federation in 1905 it was declared by one speaker from the south, "No man in this audience ever saw a negro sceptic."



## CHAPTER XLVII

One result of awakening to national issues in United States seems to have been that drinking habits were doing immense harm, detrimental alike to the individual and to the public. As early as 1783 the Methodist Conference placed in its rules for those joining the societies that "to make spirituous liquors, sell or drink them in drams is wrong in its nature and consequences." The preachers by teaching and example were to lead the people to put away the evil. Such rule was but the repetition of the rule given forth a half a century before at Wesley's Conference in England. The blasting effects of the evil caused local temperance societies to be formed in different sections of the country, so that by 1826 when the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance was started in Boston, the movement quickly assumed a national phase.

Various religious sects began following the Methodists. The Presbytery of Cayuga in 1813 took ground in favor of temperance societies. Investigations into poverty conditions by the Humane Society, first in Philadelphia and soon in New York, showed that one-seventh of the population lived on charity, and that of this number seven-eighths fell to that place through strong drink. No less than eighteen hundred licensed saloons were active in New York. The first national convention was in 1833 at Philadelphia with four hundred forty dele-

gates from twenty-two states. The principle of total abstinence was not formally recognized till the national convention at Saratoga in 1836. Soon after this the Washington movement began in Baltimore. Its growth was phenomenal. At the first anniversary a thousand reformed men were in procession at Baltimore. The movement spread far beyond that city and men by the ten thousand were reformed.

The movement was to receive two important helps. John B. Gough signed the pledge, coming at once before the public as a temperance speaker of unrivaled powers whose fiery appeals led thousands to abandon their cups. A few years later that Catholic apostle of temperance, Father Mathew, came to America, spending two years going through all parts of the country and inducing his native countrymen and others in great numbers to adopt temperance ways. The Good Templars and Rechabites gained national growth and greatly fostered the cause. A World's Temperance Convention, a large and important gathering, in 1853 met in New York. The temperance movement was first taken into politics in 1869 by the formation of the national Prohibition party. Three years later James Black was nominated for President but secured only a few thousand votes. Since that time the party each presidential year has put a candidate into the field.

One of the mightiest forces for temperance in America is the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. What was denominated the Ohio Crusade begun at Hillsboro, December, 1873, when one woman,

Mrs. Eliza Thompson, led others to join with her and then in a body proceeded to the saloons remonstrating with the occupants and obtaining leave to sing hymns and to pray in the barrooms. This method of combating the evils of liquor selling spread from that beginning over all the states until thousands of saloons were prayed out of existence. Following such a beginning of the Crusade, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was organized, thus projecting against the saloon a new force for God and Home and Native Land. It was most fortunate early in the history of the movement that Frances E. Willard was placed at the head of it, a woman marked with great executive ability, by unwavering Christian faith, of winning personality, and of high oratorical powers. Under her active, dominating genius the organization was soon established in all the states and territories, and national conventions crowded by thousands were held each year. In 1883 the World's Christian Temperance Union was organized by her. The work in United States has more than forty departments of activity, thus covering broad fields and bringing varied talents into play, using public speakers, the press, petition to Legislatures and Congress, with no end of toil and persistence. Of special worth has been the introduction of Scientific Temperance Instruction into the public schools of all the states and territories, using carefully prepared text-books. It being found that even good laws for temperance needed careful enforcement, the Anti-saloon League has later been organized in many of the states, its object

being to see that existing laws are enforced with new and better ones attained. It is doing a mighty work with ever-increasing powers, one proof of its effectiveness being that everywhere the liquor interests are fighting it.

Americans have always recognized the living relation between religion and education. Man's immaterial structure is one. To develop his whole powers broad culture touching every faculty needs to be obtained. From the time of the earliest colonists educational institutions paid heed to religious demands, whether private schools for beginners or those of higher studies reaching to the full-blown college. Harvard, William and Mary, King's, Yale, and others were church colleges from the start. Gradually denominational lines were mostly obliterated so that freedom of attendance was unhindered.

One hundred fifty colleges for women only and the doors open to them in almost all the other colleges and universities in the land have presented to American women chances for usefulness and progress never before offered to woman. Woman, said to be more devout than man, has greatly aided in the kindlier, purer elements of modern civilization. Following the lead of Denison and Toynbee in London the American colleges have founded college settlements. The first in United States was founded in New York, 1889, being started by women graduates of several colleges. These settlements take the good ways of life and the helpful uplift to better things and the teachings of Jesus to the poor, the vice-smitten and ignorant of the slums.

Many of the colleges of the country are built up and carried on by the churches in which are strong religious influences. About one hundred fifty colleges with twenty thousand students are thus conducted. Besides these colleges many of the secondary schools are under control of some of the sects. In the parochial schools of the Episcopalians, the Catholics, the Lutherans and others, are taught their own tenets and the positive truths of the Bible. Students passing from the various secondary schools, whether the high schools of the towns and cities or those of the churches, are usually well grounded in religious teachings obtained not only from their instructors but from their parents or in the Sunday Schools and churches. The increase of church membership among college students during a hundred years is most gratifying. At the opening of the nineteenth century only eight percent. of college students were church members, at the opening of the twentieth century careful statistics showed fifty-three percent. of collegians thus related.

An indication of the religious life in America is shown by the large number of theological schools in action. In the colonial colleges little attention was paid to any theological teaching. But as the denominations took form they saw the need of theological seminaries. The first real theological seminary to be established in United States was in 1791 by the Sulpitian Fathers at Baltimore. In 1808 the Congregationalists opened one at Andover, Massachusetts, followed in two years by the Dutch in New Brunswick, New Jersey, soon to be followed

by the Presbyterians at Princeton, by this completing the dream of Tennent's Log College. In 1819 the Episcopal Seminary was opened and within twenty years seventeen others by the various denominations were founded. At the opening of the twentieth century no less than one hundred sixty-three theological schools were teaching thousands of pupils. Churches have been better served, the Bible more broadly comprehended, scholarship elevated, with the instruction to heart and brain.

## CHAPTER XLVIII

The isolated cases of setting up Sunday Schools before the close of the eighteenth century by no means foreshadowed the vast growth of them reaching down to the present. The very earliest ones started by the Dunkards at Ephrata ceased as their schoolhouse was made a hospital for the wounded at the Battle of Brandywine. Asbury's first one of 1786 was in Hanover County, Virginia. This led to a vote in the Methodist Conference of 1790 to proceed to their organization and use. They were to hold from six to ten o'clock and in the afternoon from two to six, and be open to black and white alike. But they soon petered out. The same year the Universalist Convention recommended that schools be opened on Sunday to teach the children of mechanics and laborers reading, writing, ciphering and the singing of psalms. Benjamin Rush was determined that they should not be dependent upon any creed or sect, in this broad view being sustained by Bishop White of the Episcopal Church, but these plans being opposed by the Quakers, they failed.

While the Puritan opinions in New England of the sanctity of the Sabbath led to customs deeming a stroll on that day or picking a flower to be sinful, that section of the country was slow to take up the Sunday School idea. But among the states generally the churches awakened to the worth of the

new institution and organized them. Attempts to use paid teachers was given over and most studies but those of the Bible were also abandoned. Voluntary teachers nobly offered their services in the schools.

Various methods were used to establish Sunday Schools in the new west. Heroic leaders pushed out among the pioneers, toiling, traveling, some to enlarge the growth of their own denomination, some out of love for God's scattered children. The Sunday School Union has done nobly in establishing schools without respect to denomination. Special missionaries, superintendents of broad fields, the Methodist circuit rider and presiding elder were successful in establishing Sunday Schools. Often such schools were the germ of a church that soon followed the small beginning.

The Chautauqua plan of wide study grew out of a Sunday School Teacher's Institute first held by John H. Vincent and others on the banks of the beautiful Lake Chautauqua. A broader culture for the Sunday School teachers was sought in that organization. Of worth, too, has been the International Sunday School Associations by which in the last decades of the nineteenth century most of the Sunday Schools of Christendom have on the same day studied the same lesson. The Catholics and Hebrews have not affiliated with other sects in using the International series but have adopted special studies of their own.

It is an inspiring fact that most of the million and a half of Sunday School teachers do their work



unpaid, except with the sense of duty done to the cause of the Master. Vast numbers of these men and women are people of the highest college and university culture, willing to put that culture to the service of the Sunday School. The child in this age not attending Sunday School is unfortunate since it is one of the highest civilizing forces now active. For in connection with the direct study of the Bible are many valuable activities, temperance societies, mission study at home, clubs, brigades, and other organizations to interest and instruct. Since early in the nineteenth century distinctly religious teachings have been left out of the text-books and lessons, and while further on the reading of the Bible in the public schools has been banished, the rise of the Sunday School seems to have been demanded to teach religion to the oncoming generations.

Along with the rise of the Sunday School has been a remarkable call for Bibles and their wide distribution. In 1802 a local Bible society was formed in Philadelphia. By 1816, when the American Bible Society was organized, nearly sixty societies were ready to join the new purpose, its managers representing seven different denominations. It has followed closely in the steps of the older Bible Society of England. The first year the copies issued by the American Society were about six thousand; by the opening of the twentieth century, a million and a half copies were given out each year. Auxiliary societies by the thousand have been formed in various parts of United States. Joined with the British society, the issue each year is more than seven million

copies. Its agents, nine hundred, are as ubiquitous as the missionaries. It is now printed in more than four hundred languages and in the century of their work the societies of the Anglo-Saxon people have sent out two hundred eighty million copies. Everywhere it has gone the Bible has wrought its magnificent mission, lifting life still higher, aiding in enlargement of knowledge, helping progress, justice, freedom.

Alongside the Bible Society has run the Tract Society. It began ten years later than the Bible Society and since its beginning has prepared tracts in one hundred seventy-three languages using each year nearly one million dollars. Its colporteurs are in all parts of America from Alaska to Panama thence southward to Patagonia. It is put into the hands of landing immigrants, also given to those men, sometimes of foreign speech who dig coal and iron, mine for gold and silver, run the harvest reapers and threshers, or harvest rice and cotton in southern fields.

One glory of United States is that no state church has been established. Religion has been free. If this lack of a state church has been cited across the sea as a spawn of offensive sects, still the census reports one hundred forty denominations; in Great Britain with its establishment there is said to be more than two hundred sects.

Out of this full freedom of the religious life some abnormal growths have sprung up. Robert Dale Owen coming from the old country purchased a large tract of land in Indiana, setting up a com-

munity of the Trappist sect. But their loose views of wedded life turned sentiment adverse to them. This aided by an unhealthy locality and the ignorance of many in the colony caused it gradually to decay. Similar fate overtook certain communistic organizations, as the Shakers and others.

One sect, however, begun the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the Mormons, thrived on the absurd claim to special revelation and to the book of Mormon inscribed on golden plates by the ancient inhabitants of America. These plates, it was claimed, were dug out of the ground where buried by those aboriginal people. After various attempts at founding a colony, finally, under the vigorous leadership of Brigham Young they started the city of Nauvoo, Illinois. Their foul lives, their cheating methods and their crimes brought them into armed conflict with the people about them, and finally the state authorities interfered. A fortunate revelation sent them west of the Mississippi and granted polygamy. They did not halt till they crossed the plains and mountains, settling in the valley of the great Salt Lake. They laid out a city, gathered their scattered adherents, sent missionaries to Europe and over United States for recruits. Plurality of wives did not deter bright cultured women from going to Salt Lake City with these missionaries, and that doctrine enabled leading men to follow the example of Brigham Young with his nineteen wives and three score children. Their defiance alike of decency and of American laws has made them one of the menacing problems of Amer-

ican life. In the political field several of the western states are dominated by them.

The rise of new sects has been grounded on various causes. The Second Advents, looking for a speedy coming of Christ to rule on the earth, arose out of an exciting prediction of William Miller who in 1843 thought he proved from Scripture that the second advent was at hand. Though failure after failure has marked the dates since Miller's time for that coming, the sect has surprising vitality and does great good. Spiritualism is another abnormal belief. The sum of sixty thousand dollars was left to the University of Pennsylvania by Seybert to be used in investigating it. The well-known Professor Joseph A. Leidy under this bequest, after extended and careful investigation, found spiritualism to be a tissue of imposition. Some think that spiritualism is not in the realm of the supernatural, but in that of the natural, which with mesmerism, hypnotism and allied matters is under natural laws not yet understood. Still there are reported to be one hundred fifty thousand of that sect in United States and a million and a half American people favorably interested in it. More than six hundred of its organizations carry forward its tenets.

One of the most recent sects to arise, Christian Science, found a competent leader in Mrs. Eddy, an American woman of great power to influence people and to obtain money. It is understood that these people believe there is no illness, but that one is so truly a part of God that pain and sickness are imaginary. Yet death seems to come to them of

all ages as to others not holding their notions. Their organization has extended over much of the country, and in 1906 their ornate cathedral in Boston, said to have cost two million dollars, was dedicated. People by the ten thousand came to the dedication from all parts of the world. The eager longing for some satisfactory answer to questions touching religious matters is no doubt responsible for the rise of some of these remarkable forms of belief.

But the stability of the religious life in this country inheres in the great denominations that through all the history of the nation have steadily pursued their way. Churches, colleges, homes, preaching, Sunday Schools, pastoral care, home mission work, have been sustained and enlarged through their powerful organization. The direct personal communion with the Heavenly Father, that supremest reach of the religious life, has been fostered by them. By them every avenue of expanding growth has been broadened and smoothed. Through these great denominations personal character has been ennobled, family life lifted to a higher, purer realm, ways opened for high genius and tireless activity as well as good done to the weakest of humanity.

Out of the Revolutionary War came an increased spirit of fraternity and charity among the denominations. All had suffered, some were nearly blotted out, but quick to recover. They helped to rally a hopeful tone and feeling of mutual interest. The church life was well-nigh universal. The Congregationalists, to be sure, were dominant in New England,

but were not confined to that locality. The Dutch and Lutherans had a leading in the central states while farther south the Episcopalians and Catholics were getting on their feet, with the active Baptists and pushing Methodists soon to aid in welding the far separate states from Maine to Georgia and over the mountains west to the Mississippi. The Constitution making the religious life free and open to all was soon adopted, the various state laws were gradually conformed to this requirement and the spirit of fraternity grew with the thrill of the new national life.

But all along there had been many instances of this spirit, for people of one sect had thrown open their churches to people of another sect, ministers of different faiths had preached for each other, and on slight change of views or on none people and pastors had gone from one denomination to another. In the newly settled parts of the country a minister of a sect, if differing from the church of a household, yet was welcomed to that household. At last the religious consciousness could rejoice in its freedom on a new continent. No state church, no union with politics, no sect dominating the others, allowed open progress to all in the new nation.

Under this spirit practical steps together were taken. In 1814 on the formation of the American Board of Foreign Missions, the Congregationalists leading, there were united with them the Presbyterians, the Dutch and the German Reformed Churches, this union of work continuing nearly forty years when the last three sects formed missionary societies

of their own. The American Bible Society, also, was formed by representatives from most of the denominations, as was the American Tract Society. Revivals, widespread in the early century and recurring with special force a few years before the Civil War, increased the fraternal spirit. The thousand imperative voices in that war for aid and sympathy and fellowship had a high power in binding churches together, as the war had done in uniting the separate sections of the country into one strong nation. The great conventions, as the Evangelical Alliance in New York in 1873, aided the spirit of fraternity in this country and beyond. Similar results came from the sessions of the Young Men's Christian Association, of those of the Young People's societies, from the Student Volunteer Movement, from the Ecumenical Conferences, and other gatherings. All aided and increased the work of the churches, fostered philanthropic enlargement, inspired to Christian education.

Among the denominations is a union of effort made in certain sections for local missionary or evangelistic activity. In Maine four sects, the Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists, Free Baptists, have united in a free federation for considering questions relating to founding new churches, for mission work in the state, to arbitrate in conflicts arising between local churches, to study the union of depleted churches, and other issues constantly arising. Other states and several cities have followed suit. In Buffalo all the churches to the number of one hundred twenty-four united in the pur-

pose to take care of the city poor and from this action much good resulted. Syracuse with nine sects put forth united efforts for the moral and spiritual good of its people. In almost every town, though if with only a few of the denominations represented, union services, those of the week of prayer and Thanksgiving as well as others, are commonly held.

These movements prepared the way for the latest, grandest proposition done in this noble spirit. It was more than a dream that took form in the last of the nineteenth century and was projected into the twentieth century, for the federation of the American churches. As early as 1894 in New York, at a gathering in the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, a preliminary organization looking toward a national federation was started. The next year this incipient organization met in Philadelphia with broader plans and E. B. Sanford was made the secretary to push the purpose. Out of these smaller movements gradually grew one of national scope so that in 1902 the first meeting of the wider plans was held in Washington. There a call was made for a gathering yet broader in its scope three years later in New York. At the Washington Conference the delegation called upon President Roosevelt who at once said, "Well, there is a plenty of targets for all to shoot at without shooting at one another."

The Interchurch Conference or Federation, held in New York, October 15-16, 1905, was a gathering not equaled in scope and catholicity in all modern Christianity. In it were gathered delegates from thirty of the leading Protestant denomina-



tions of United States, representing twenty millions of church members and many millions more of those interested in the churches. The members claimed no authorities over constituent bodies, had no creed to offer, no set form of worship to prescribe, but met in fellowship and catholicity, in love and mutual counsel, seeking means for encouraging a higher religious life in churches and individuals as well as uniting for a better civic spirit. They discussed the evils to be opposed, the saloon, divorce, Sabbath desecration, child labor, the social evil, the conflict of capital and labor. Watchwords were Union and Evangelism, while on a banner was written, Co-operation, Federation, Love. One said that the four notes of federation were mutual recognition, mutual forbearance, mutual service, mutual prayer. It was justly regretted by some of the speakers that the Universalists and Unitarians were not invited to meet with the others. Still the sturdy antagonism of the centuries were seen to grow decrepit, giving way to a new life of fraternity and service and love.

## CHAPTER XLIX

With the rapidly increasing wealth of the country came a mighty wave of philanthropic gifts. The rich lands yielded agricultural wealth. Mines disgorged their hidden treasures. Manufactures were piling up riches. Railroads rolled fortunes into the hands of their owners. Even by the first third of the century, men grown rich were returning masses of this wealth to the people. Colleges, Universities, Theological Schools, Technical Institutions were founded and endowed. Benefactions have touched all grades from the kindergarten to the most highly specified university courses. Millions have freely been placed in the Chicago University by John D. Rockefeller. Rich men have founded great libraries. Foremost among these is Andrew Carnegie who, having made a gigantic fortune in America, has founded libraries by the hundred throughout the land. Picture galleries and museums have laid hold upon the world's best products.

A unique benefaction is that of Mrs. Russell Sage who has placed ten million dollars in a foundation, the object being the improvement of social and living conditions in United States. By its means there will be studied the causes of ignorance, poverty and vice, with suggestions as to how to remedy them. Hospitals to alleviate human suffering and to restore the afflicted have so appealed to people of means that the nation is blessed with them in all

its cities and considerable towns. For less observant needs of God's children vast wealth has been poured out. While riches have been so mightily increased there is a feeling among Americans that much of them should be consecrated to the good of humanity and to the glory of God.

At the first the church buildings put up to accommodate the increasing population in towns and cities and throughout the more densely settled parts of the country were, owing to restricted means or lack of taste in the builders, often small and of mean appearance. But as numbers and wealth have increased new churches have been erected of noble architecture, rich and commodious in design, of great cost, to which the people have freely contributed. Great ornate cathedrals by those sects requiring such buildings have been put up, rivaling in their size and grandeur, in their cost and beauty, the vastest piles in the old world. If the poor should feel ill at ease in such elegance, more cheaply constructed churches have everywhere been built, while halls and rooms of every possible grade to capacious theaters filled with vast crowds have been utilized for worshipful people. The religious practices in America have been very unconventional. From the widow's mite to the vast sums that appear dumfounding in their magnificence and dimensions, there has always been a freedom and a continual tide of giving. Reported by the press the large sums given for philanthropies in 1905 ran above sixty-six million dollars and in 1906 above one hundred six million dollars. Never before in the history of the

world has such giving been seen. American Christians have been learning to be doers of the word.

The Evangelical Alliance was formed as a result of the deepening currents of the religious life among English-speaking peoples. Before its formation in 1846 a sentiment through the press and in Christian gatherings had found expression for united work among the denominations. When the organization in London took place, more than eighty pulpits in that city had preaching in them by the delegates in the speech of England, France, Germany and of other peoples. The organization was hailed with enthusiasm over all the world, people everywhere seeing the reasonableness of such a movement. At the General Council held in 1851 in London, representatives were present from all parts of the world, from America, Asia, Africa, West Indies, and from other countries. The world was getting tired of theological combats and was eager to be doing work for the truth. At the Paris Convention of 1855 urgent call was made for freedom of worship with use of private conscience. The Prussian King was anxious for a convention in his country so that of 1857 was held in Berlin. Four years later it was held at Geneva, then at Amsterdam.

In 1873 the Evangelical Alliance was held in New York. The Americans owing vast debts to all European countries for civilization, letters, religion and liberty, were glad to have the delegates coming from those old countries see the growth from the seed planted by them. Freedom in personal life and liberty in religious life were doing their noble work.

The great successful sweep of Christian truth, though put into various statements, stood in vivid contrast to the fact that no new aggressive form of infidelity was of late origin.

In connection with the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893 the Alliance held a monster convention. The motto written in Latin as a kind of universal tongue was, "We are one body in Christ." Again and again the primary object was stated to promote Christian union in work, in fraternal intercourse, and to manifest the unity of the church. Many great gatherings, as the missionary conferences, had been inspired by the Alliance. During the fifty years of its work the fraternal feeling among the denominations had largely increased. Philanthropic movements, social settlements, kindergartens, fresh-air funds, were all aided by this association. The Inner Mission in Great Britain similar to Home Missions in America grew out of the Alliance. Many other organizations of various kinds had been pushed forward by it. One thing being tried in America was the Institutional Church. Such was the Berkeley Temple in Boston. That held regular Sabbath services with a Sunday School and through the week was always open. It sustained services for the Jews, the Greeks and for other races, had a Young Men's Institute with lectures, concerts, the invitation being by tickets with free seats. For aiding young women it had a sewing school, taught kindergarten methods and kitchen skill, had classes in arithmetic, painting, German and French. Similar undertakings, it was reported had been under-

taken in Denver and elsewhere. Money to sustain these costly projects had been freely given by rich laymen.

Somewhat like the Evangelical Alliance in scope and purpose is the Young Men's Christian Association. Like the other it was a product of London religious life. About the middle of the nineteenth century it was adopted in America. The purpose is to work for the good of young men, aiding in social life, mental culture, spiritual uplift and physical improvement. It requires its active members to be Christians and in its associate members asks for a good moral character. During the Civil War it mostly directed the ministries of the Christian Commission. Business men, seeing the worth of its work for young men, have freely poured out money to erect and sustain splendid buildings in most of the great cities. In Boston recently a call was made for five hundred thousand dollars to erect such a house and in a few days it was all subscribed. Such buildings offer libraries, reception rooms, gymnasiums, lecture rooms, baths, with many other valuable and attractive features. In addition to the strictly evangelical purposes, evening schools are sustained for those busy during the day while training schools, medical clubs and plans for saving funds are kept in operation. In America, the Associations number above two thousand with four hundred splendid buildings and nearly two thousand paid officers. Through the energy of American and British workers Associations have been formed in all parts of the Christian world. Says Rev. Dr. Roswell Hitchcock:

"The omnipresence, I had almost said the omnipotence, of the Intercollegiate Young Men's College Associations is the great fact in the religious life of our colleges to-day."

The worth of a similar organization among the young women led to the formation of the Young Woman's Christian Association which has grown to pleasant proportions and success. Its start was in the Ladies' Christian Union of New York in 1858. A phase of its activities distinctly for service in colleges and universities had its rise in the Illinois Normal University with special reference to the needs of young women. In the Association four departments of work are carried on. The first looks to the physical well-being of the members, training in gymnasium, health talks, outing clubs and the like. The second department considers the social needs where direction is given to receptions, to boarding clubs, employment bureaus, and to similar matters. The third, the intellectual, pays attention to libraries, lecture courses, musical and art clubs. The fourth department is that of the spiritual needs of the young women, having evangelistic meetings, Bible study mingled with personal appeal and work. The two organizations, the one among young men, the other among the young women, are set up in all the prominent educational institutions where co-education is conducted and are fruitful in cultivating the higher nobler forces of the young life.

A most remarkable expression of the religious life, freighted with vast benedictions to mankind, has come in the organized activities of the young people

of the different denominations. At Portland, Maine, in 1881, Rev. F. E. Clark, pastor of the Williston Congregational Church, with "Faith in God, faith in man," that New England creed which Lowell said was ample for this life and for the next, began the movement that has since covered the world. Having a group of young converts he called them to his home, offered a constitution designed to promote an earnest Christian life among those using it, to increase their mutual acquaintance and in many ways to make them more useful servants of God. This constitution pledged all active members of the organization to be present at every prayer meeting unless detained by some absolute necessity and that each one would take some part, however slight, in every meeting. Departments were planned to seek new members, to urge forward the slow, to reach those outside the church, to furnish good literature and put it with flowers in public places, to work in Sunday School, and to aid in temperance and missionary interests. They were to stay at home with the children for the mother to go to meeting, to aid the pastor, to form a hand-shaking brigade, and do other social and religious duties.

Leaving the pastorate, Mr. Clark devoted himself entirely to building up this new energy to Christianity, traveling widely in its interests in America and in other lands, setting the young people of the churches at work in organized form. In the sixth year of the twentieth century the Christian Endeavor Society, the direct product of Mr. Clark's plan, had in all parts of the world sixty-five thousand



societies with four million members. Various sects under their own rules formed similar societies with still more millions of workers. It is claimed by earnest toilers to be the most important organization of modern times. It works hand in hand with the Student Volunteer Movement, pushes for evangelism, toils with all interested in fields of mercy and help, heartily encourages education in schools and colleges and outside of them. Through these interblending societies, whether under the name of Christian Endeavor or of those selected, a rich, high spirit of fraternity among the various churches has been enlarged and made more intense. Out of it have come magnificently equipped workers of both sexes whose labors are of priceless worth to their fellow men. It is not only an organization but an influence and an inspiration.

Another result of the rising religious spirit is the Student Volunteer Movement. Originating in 1886, it rapidly spread among the student body of United States and Canada, thence to Great Britain, and soon all over the world. At the initial gathering at Mount Hermon, two hundred fifty delegates came, twenty-one of whom had already pledged to go as missionaries. Foremost as moving spirits were Wilder of Princeton, Tewksbury of Harvard and Clark of Oberlin. Before the convention closed one hundred declared themselves willing and desirous, God permitting, to become foreign missionaries. Wilder and Forman were sent out to the colleges and in two years when another convention was called they had visited one hundred seventy-six institutions in United

States and Canada. At the convention of 1888 in Northfield an executive committee consisting of John R. Mott, Robert P. Wilder and Nettie Dean was appointed who vigorously pushed the work, visiting colleges, holding meetings, and pledging students to volunteer for missionaries.

The movement did not purpose to become another missionary society to send missionaries out itself, but to act as a recruiting agency for missionary boards already organized. It aimed to find students willing to go to foreign fields who would prepare themselves while in school to meet the requirements of the Boards, who would thus be able to fill up the ranks and increase the corps of missionaries as well. The watchword chosen was, "The Evangelization of the World in this Generation." Colleges in United States and Canada numbered a thousand with two hundred thousand students. In time the tireless workers reached nearly all these institutions, finding in a few years more than two thousand young people willing, if the way was opened, to go to the foreign work. The college professors at first seemed shy of the movement but by the time of the Detroit Convention, 1894, they were present in considerable numbers, giving their hearty sympathy and after that their active support. The churches in all their activities have felt the impulse.

Mr. Wilder, going out as a missionary to India, stopped a year in Great Britain, impelling a similar movement there known as the Student Volunteer Missionary Union which has had a most pleasing growth. Mr. Wilder speaking at the Keswick Convention

of 1891, for but twelve minutes, led a few choice souls to dedicate themselves to the missionary service. By these others were aroused, resulting in the full formation of the movement. At the time of Mr. Wilder's visit only two hundred of all the colleges in Great Britain were expecting to go as missionaries, but within six years twelve hundred in those institutions were at the command of missionary societies. All the great universities, Cambridge, Oxford, Dublin, London, were in the current. Shortly two hundred volunteers were at work in India, and a large number in America were with them.

In 1896-7 John R. Mott made a tour of the world to present the Student Movement to other peoples. Everywhere his reception was most cordial and encouraging. In Great Britain, on the continent, in India, China, Japan, he met the colleges individually or at delegated conventions. To a convention at Shanghai no less than seventeen college presidents came, some of them having spent three weeks to get there, so important did they deem the movement for their schools. The movement became not only interdenominational but international. Mission colleges themselves pledged volunteers among their own people or to adjacent ones. So vast is the territory of India and multitudinous its people, as also of China, that in those countries volunteers from native colleges could be thought of as going to foreign lands.

A monster convention in 1902 met in Toronto, Canada. Delegates to it came from all parts of the world. Reports as at the great missionary confer-

ences, were brought of the work in the various parts of the world, giving cause for great enthusiasm. Already of the Volunteers it was known that 1953 had taken their departure for foreign fields. A project started by the Methodists of Canada called the Students' Campaign and taken up by other churches was in full sweep. This campaign was increasing missionary information not only among the Volunteers but especially among those not pledged, and arousing enthusiasm in the young peoples' societies. Increase of power was noticeable in churches that were individually sending out missionaries.

Again in 1906, twenty years from the beginning of the Volunteer Movement, the Convention met at Nashville, Tennessee. Four thousand delegates were there besides other thousands of interested spectators of the inspiring scene. Thousands had to be refused attendance owing to want of accommodation, although the great Ryman Auditorium could seat six thousand people. Seven hundred colleges were represented. Working in perfect harmony were representatives of more than fifty denominations. Federation was not in theory but in fact. An appeal had come up from the Conference of the Foreign Missionary Boards of United States and Canada held in Nashville shortly before for a thousand young people each year to go to foreign fields. More than a hundred of those in convention were already under orders from the missionary boards to go out during the year. John R. Mott, chairman of the executive committee, asked for twenty-five thousand dollars a

year for four years to carry on the work and in a few minutes the sum of ninety thousand dollars was raised. The students alone had given the preceding year to missions no less than eighty thousand dollars. Of the two thousand two hundred eighty-seven sent to mission fields from America during the four years preceding, forty-one percent. were Volunteers.

The compact in the cabin of the *Mayflower* was the first constitution ever written based upon equal rights of all men as members of the state. They deemed, however, that the state should maintain religion, punish blasphemy, heresy, and other acts contrary to church teaching. If in that compact there was the germ of a free state, there was also the seed of free Christianity. Each indeed was but a germ but was destined to grow in the free air and wide expanse of the new continent.

But even in the colonies that decreed religious liberty was full religious freedom not allowed. It required the Revolutionary War and the progress of years afterward to drive out all the virus of custom and bigotry. But gradually public opinion, that tidal force mightier in United States than constitutions, swept away every legal vestige of the hateful colonial laws in the current of absolutely equal religious rights. Not only public opinion but the courts declared for those rights. But public opinion after all was the successful regulator. As late as in 1873, when in some states it was held in law that belief in God and in future rewards and punishments were required for holding civic office,

public opinion steadily made them a nullity. Other religious tests shared the same fate. Judge Cooley on Constitutional Limitations says that the Constitution forbids any law respecting an establishment of religion or the compulsory support by taxation or otherwise of religious instruction. Further, that it forbids compulsory attendance upon religious worship, or restraint upon the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience or any restraint upon the expression of religious beliefs.

Churches are recognized by law only as corporations to hold property, not as religious bodies. Property held for the churches by colonial laws before the Revolution was after that confirmed by the courts. Thus in 1801 in Virginia the Legislature passed an act that the vacant glebe land should be sold for the benefit of the poor, but on appeal the Supreme Court of United States annulled it, holding that the original grant could not be revoked. As the division occurred in the Presbyterian Church, making the Old School and the New School, each claimed a part of the property, but the Supreme Courts decided that property rights remained alone with the old school section since by that as a corporation the property was attained. As yet the courts of the different states have no uniform decisions. In the famous Girard case the Pennsylvania court said:

“Though certain features of the common law may be derived from the Christian religion the law does not attempt to enforce the precepts of Christianity on the ground of its sacred character or divine origin.”

The Supreme Court of Ohio ruled that acts evil in their nature or dangerous to the public welfare may be forbidden and punished though sanctioned by one religion and prohibited by another.

The wise men framing the Constitution put into one of its paragraphs, "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification for any office or public trust under the United States." As the document was placed before the several states for approval Rhode Island demanded as a condition of acceptance that an amendment be made so that the first amendment guarding the rights of the new citizen was adopted by the states, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." These two short sentences have stood in the religious history of the new nation like a granite promontory jutting into the ocean's surges. The hope and aim and dream of the Pilgrim Fathers were then brought to a full legal fruition. It made the religious consciousness free on the new continent. The fourteenth amendment to the Constitution forbidding any state to make or enforce any law abridging the privileges or amenities of citizens of United States, could well be construed as forbidding any religious test or establishment.

The unrest apparent in society, a sign no doubt of progress, is in later years taking form in America in socialist agitation and organized working men. The distinct socialist movement in German politics and among the working men of Great Britain, by which a working man was placed in the ministry,

shows how the Teutonic race regards the issues taken up by the classes hitherto under too many limitations. In a free country like America, with press, speech, church free, such a great question as the relation of labor and capital can be treated without the presence of anarchy and atheism. A union with the Christian spirit is heartily sought by the most recent leaders of the socialist movement. Indeed, the feeling of liberty given by religion leads to the assertion of rights urged by the socialists. Many leaders of the movement are preachers of the various sects, either in the active pastorate or formerly in that work. Where the religious consciousness is so general inside the churches and out of them, there is a growing opinion that Christianity can give the right solution to the questions arising between capital and labor, between rights and restrictions. Hence one wing of the socialists call their movement most naturally Christian Socialism. Working men everywhere could find sympathetic churches if they had not fallen into the habit of condemning all alike. Sometimes those who scold most about the churches accept the social teachings of Jesus both in word and example. Crowds listening to bitter socialistic speeches have sometimes hooted references to the churches but cheered the name of Jesus.

The Christian Socialists claim that the churches should follow the teachings of the Master and should return to the primitive conditions of the real gospel. These claims would keep the spiritual element largely at the front. The Encyclopedia Britannica says, "The ethics of Socialism are identical with the ethics



of Christianity." The socialists plead for justice in the distribution of wealth produced by labor. The vast corporations, in so many instances using the wealth already accumulated to make more, are considered by the socialists as wrong, dangerous, oppressive. Common brotherhood and universal rights are demanded as the gift of heaven to all men. Socialism stands for peace as opposed to war. Socialism, seeing that Christian teachings would save from war, stands for international friendship. If the broadest rights are sought it is claimed that they cannot be reached with society as it is now fashioned. It is the old cry for rights, as old as evolving civilization. In Anglo-Saxon progress the claims of toilers have with increasing knowledge and larger aspirations grown higher and higher.

## CHAPTER L

When after the capture of Quebec, Canada passed to British control, the good offices of English freedom were at once apparent. The French population, then about all the people in the colony, were granted greater freedom than was given them by the government of France. Little interference was made in their plans of church government or service. The parishes and priests were not disturbed and soon the Quebec Act recognized by Parliament the legal relations, new indeed in British law, of a Roman Catholic bishop and proper diocesan authority. Tithes to support their clergy and system were continued and the French language was not forbidden. Some of the monastic orders were banished but after a while were permitted to return, and soon built establishments in the prominent towns. This gift of rights, a diplomatic stroke of British statesmanship, made the French Canadians loyal to Great Britain in the period of the impending Revolutionary War. They were importuned by the Americans to join in the claim for independence but in vain. Some commissioners were sent to them for this purpose. Even Bishop John Carroll of Maryland urged them to join with the States but they flatly refused.

As population increased and riches accumulated, pushing beyond their original province, they erected large parish churches, more stately monasteries, elegant nunneries, and ornate cathedrals, in all parts

of the country. They have persistently used the rights of English subjects. In the westward movement they have been able to send their priests along with the *courriers du bois*, along, too, with the settlers in Winnipeg and to the Pacific coast, not neglecting the Hudson Bay fur-gatherers or the scattered Indian tribes. Their numbers and superior organization, their systematic care of their people, the progress in education and in liberal politics have been similar to that of other races in Canada. They mostly sustain their own schools and fret under the laws that tax them for public secular schools. In Lower Canada it is said that a third of the landed property is in the hands of the hierarchy. Their organization at the end of the nineteenth century consisted of a Cardinal, six archbishops, more than a score of bishops, fifteen hundred priests and two million people. The brilliant premier, Laurier, is a gift of the French race and of the Catholic faith.

After Wolfe and Montcalm, Anglican chaplains came with the British troops of occupation. As they had opportunity, these chaplains set up religious services, organized a few regular parishes, and opened schools for the children of the soldiers. Later attempts were made to convert the French to Protestant ways. Some Anglican clergy of French speech, natives of Switzerland, engaged in this purpose but their efforts were futile. The American War of Independence caused an exodus of the loyalists to British Provinces. Their number has been estimated at twenty thousand to forty thousand.

Most of them, being of the Anglican faith, found ministrations to suit them and sympathy for their loyalty. At the same time they added valuable elements, sturdy and liberty-loving, to the provinces and to the Anglican Church.

In 1791, the home government in arranging the religious matters of Canada set apart one-seventh of the public lands, called the Clergy Reserve, to be used in support of the Protestant religion. At once it was claimed by the Anglicans, since that denomination was the only one recognized by law as established in England, that all this land belonged to them. To this the Scot Presbyterians objected, since in Scotland their sect was the Establishment. Finally a pittance of such lands was granted to the Presbyterians but to no others. The Establishment held strong opposition to Dissenters, the laws being so construed that they were not allowed to perform the marriage rites, while social distinctions were as much insisted upon if not more than in the home country. Such things led to much bitterness and controversy between the sects and hindered the progress of the religious life. Just across the line the Americans had religious liberty absolutely; why, the Canadians urged, could not similar rights be enjoyed by this other people of the Anglo-Saxon race.

As could be expected, the pious, pushing Scots were on hand in Canada. People of that denomination were found among the refugees from United States and these were as eager for preaching and church privileges as those direct from Europe. To meet the calls of those scattered pioneers, ministers every-

where and of every denomination had to turn itinerants. These itinerants had to thread dim forests among dangerous beasts, must often ford swift-flowing streams, sometimes swim across deep ones, go wet, hungry, pinched with poverty, and put up with miserable accommodations and poor fare. But they went, Baptists, Presbyterians, Methodists, Anglicans, Catholics. It is impossible to tell what the Christian Anglo-Saxon will not do for the spiritual good of his fellow man. Yet not all the people of Canada were pious and eager for the gospel. From Montreal at the end of the eighteenth century John Mitchell wrote, "If ever the world was idolized and heaven and Christ neglected it is surely in this place."

Of the Presbyterians, several home divisions were represented who early began to seek union of their divided forces. The home churches helped them with ministers, money to purchase Bibles, catechisms, tracts, and other helps. As the project of Lord Selkirk took form in establishing a colony in the Red River Valley of the west, one of his promises to the Scot Highlanders and others was that they should have a pastor of their own. Delay marked this plan but it was finally reached to the joy of all. So fine was the system of the Catholics that priests were sent there when only two or three families of their people were in Winnipeg. Sometimes there seems to have been a lack of the sweet spirit of Christianity among the sects. The freedom-loving colonists objected to the superiority in the new country of any one denomination. The Catholics of Lower Canada objected to the incoming of other sects nor were the Presby-

terians always tolerant of the invading Methodists and Baptists from United States.

One burning cause of animosity among the denominations was the matter of clergy reserve of lands. Appeals were made to the local courts and from these it was carried to Great Britain where eminent legal opinion was that those rich reserves belonged in larger share to the Anglicans, and in smaller share to the Presbyterians, since these two sects were the established ones in England and in Scotland. This opinion settled nothing. The outside people of Canada would not let the matter rest. When the colonies had a Legislature of their own and the Lower House voted that an equitable division of it should be made among the sects, the Upper House, the Council, refused concurrence. Finally in 1854 a settlement of the vexed question was reached, a vast proportion going to the Anglicans, a lesser part to the Presbyterians, while other denominations were given a moiety. Later the income of the remainder of these lands was directed to educational and secular purposes, and the clergy of all the churches were supported alone by voluntary funds.

Even before the end of the eighteenth century, Canada was subjected to an invasion from United States though of a peaceful kind. The intense Baptist preachers and tireless Methodist itinerants crossed the dividing line of the two countries, whether that line was river, lake, or an invisible one along some specified parallel of latitude. Other denominations came also as settlers or for the sake of making converts, but those two seemed to have been most la-

borious with most remarkable toil and success. The Baptists, with a dogma they deemed necessary for salvation, could well be intense and immerse in the limpid streams of the new country, whether in the summer heat or in the blast of winter, at a hole cut through the ice, such people as were converted under their preaching. Their organization of independency eminently suited many of the freedom-loving settlers, for the spirit of rights from the first was strong among them. This spirit was to bring to Canada eminent blessings of religious liberty that were to aid other British colonies the world over to similar liberty.

The Methodist itinerant system enabled that denomination to send its preachers not only where there was a call from the people but also to regions where no Methodists were known to have settled, but where it was deemed that the people needed the gospel. The first of those restless itinerants to be sent from the states was one Losee, going from Conference with the significant direction "to range at large." His was the beginning of the peaceful invasion. He opened work that was steadily enlarged as was that of the Baptists and others among the scattered settlers. Circuits among the Methodists, as in the States, were formed over which the itinerants went in regular order, organizing classes, societies, and putting up churches. Some of those Circuits were across vast stretches of country, one in Upper Canada being two hundred forty miles in extent. All those early ministers preached to the people anywhere they could get them to assemble, in log cabins, barns, stores, under

the trees. Such adaptations to conditions suited the brave pioneers. While the War of 1812 had been most disastrous to the religious life its effects gradually wore away. At a Methodist Conference held in the locality of Lundy's Lane where but seven years before the American and British armies met in one of the bloodiest battles of the war, now some American and Canadian young men who fought against each other in that battle knelt together at the altar of the Elizabethtown meeting-house for ordination. As the ceremony ended they clasped each other in their arms and through streaming eyes gave the kiss of peace.

By 1817 the Wesleyans from England had entered upon systematic work, having formed circuits at Quebec, Montreal, Kingston, and at several places in the eastern provinces. Their success and influence were fine from the start and of importance to Canada. Many of the people from the old country liked their ways better than the work of preachers from United States. In 1821 it was agreed between the Wesleyans and the Methodists from the States that one should confine themselves to Lower Canada, the other to Upper Canada.

From such beginnings of the various denominations the phases of the religious life, as seen in the Canadian churches, grandly developed, mostly in a pleasing spirit of amity. One cause of friction after another was removed. The legislative assembly was granted, in 1850, by the home government, the power to settle the church relations, and it promptly declared complete religious equality among the de-



nominations. Sectarian schools were fostered for a while but on the formation of the Dominion of Canada a system of non-sectarian schools was set up, and later still, a secular system was projected, sustained by the home government by which taxes were laid to support them.

In all parts of the provinces the spirit of constitutional freedom was insisted upon and gradually attained. Before the close of the eighteenth century, this gift of a high Christian civilization was beginning to show itself, and as the decades of the next century passed, step by step progress was made. At the first session of the Colonial Legislature of Upper Canada in 1793, an act was passed abolishing slavery. Among the French in the lower province a few slaves were held after this time, but gradually they were set at liberty until the whole country was washed clean of that stain. Besides this, Canada became a place of refuge for many of the slaves of United States who, escaping from their bondage, succeeded by the help of abolitionists forming the "Underground Railroad," in reaching the free soil of that country.

The formation of the Dominion of Canada uniting the provinces into a real nation with its Parliament at Ottawa, yet each province having its own local assembly similar to the federal system in United States, gave a great uplift for better things to British America. Unity of power has enabled commercial expansion to offer multitudes of gifts to the restless inhabitants, easy access to the Pacific coast has been reached, the new nation can treat with other nations

on the ground of equality. England naturally holds lax leading strings.

The religious sects of similar name and theology were moved by a spirit of union like that of the political sections. Previous to the middle of the nineteenth century, no less than eight Presbyterian bodies were sustaining their own religious opinions and practices. Wiser counsels prevailing, these churches were finally amalgamated. Several Methodist sections, also working separately for some decades, coalesced into one Methodist church of Canada. By these unions efficiency in work and labors was greatly increased. As the Dominion expanded vaster fields for the uplift of the people also were presented, the union of these minute sections greatly helping forward church work.

Indeed, so valuable were the results of these combinations that the twentieth century saw at its opening a still broader step toward the fostering of its religious life. This was no less than an attempt to unite three prominent denominations supposed to vary much in polity and doctrines, the Methodists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists. This advance movement was started in 1902, by the General Conference of the Methodists, held at Winnipeg, suggesting an organized union of all the evangelical denominations of Canada. This proffer being taken up by the Presbyterians and Congregationalists, committees have been formed, meetings and conferences held and a union may result. Should this be done it would be the first in all the history of Christianity of a union among denominations so divergent

as these. Suggesting this fraternal spirit and leading to it have been the International Sunday School Conventions, Missionary Conferences, and gatherings of the Young People's Movement. Canada in this way is setting a noble example to other peoples, to the one hundred fifty sects in United States, to the two hundred thirty-six said to exist in Great Britain. Not only in this magnificent movement to a higher Christian life are the Canadians nobly leading the way to higher things, but they are doing this in other directions. In forming a colonial legislature of their own, in granting wide elective franchise, in reaching legal equality among the denominations and in other ways, these people, touched with the high spirit of all America, have been giving to other British colonies and beyond them to all the world, exalted examples of God's good plans for his children.

As the twentieth century is passing there opens for Canada a new field of expansion. The Canadian Pacific Railroad before this date had pushed an avenue of improvement among the mines of British Columbia, to the rich fisheries of the coast and to an outlook of the growing importance of the world's movement in commerce on the Pacific Ocean. Then it was found that a vast region of northwest Canada, reaching near the Arctic Circle, rich in soil, of wide prairie land, of easy access, and touched by the warm currents of the Pacific Ocean, would produce wheat and other cereals in most amazing abundance. New railroads have penetrated these regions, settlers have flocked to this land of promise from other parts of Canada, from United States and from all parts of the

world. Along with the settlers have gone the alert church authorities as a hundred years before they did in eastern Canada. With the expansion of view in the boundless west, with its freedom and opportunity, with its new life and promise of better things to the people has gone a deeper, richer religious life. Intensity of action has marked it. Churches have been organized, houses for worship built, an open free spirit has been persistent, the feeling among the denominations more amicable. Among the floods of immigrants have come various sects, the Mennonites, Jews, the absurd Doukhobors. The Indians of those sections have been protected and carefully taught the Christian evangel.

Not least among the benefactions of this interesting expansion is the peculiar tide of immigration from England. To philanthropists it has offered new fields for giving fresh chances to needy people. Dr. Barnado was not blind to this opening, being able to send thousands of children picked up on the streets of London to the good homes and open opportunities of Canada. Work girls by the hundreds, restricted by poverty, by imperfect social conditions, and by the sharp competition of labor in England, have been sent to the Dominion to find remunerative employment and better chances every way for a higher life. The splendid work of the Salvation Army is foremost in these labors. In one year no less than twenty-five thousand emigrants were aided by them to go to Canada. To those people of Great Britain, ignorant of a home, there awaited with a song and a little diligence and work, one in the Canadian northwest. So

valuable has been the success of the Army among the suffering people in overcrowded England that the government of that realm, with a view of offering similar help to its people, is officially investigating the methods and results of this movement of General Booth.

Above all other results of Canadian life is the splendid class of people produced in that country. All the growth in the many fields has come of its people. They have been strong, persistent, hopeful, pious. Almost everybody in the Dominion belongs to some one of the churches. They have been wise in adjusting difficulties among themselves and attaining new positions of strength and success. Fairness has marked their relation with neighboring nations and with the imperial government. Statesmen of high diplomacy and of wide vision have been produced. Legislators of acute insight have made wise laws. Orators of great power have spoken from Canada's forum, from its platforms and from its pulpits. Theologians of great breadth and deep research have enriched their own special fields. Men have been raised to fill most ably the highest, most burdensome offices of the various churches. Writers on many subjects have added to the literature of the English tongue, already so rich and varied. Science has been enlarged by able and original research. Who can foretell the future of the Canadians?

## CHAPTER LI

In South Africa, the English found conditions on its conquest from the Dutch different from those found on the conquest of Canada. For two centuries it had been settled by the Dutch, a most stubborn race, not far removed in blood from the English themselves. The Dutch Reformed Church had among their own colonists been set up from the early occupation. Consistories were organized, the people whether in towns or on the grazing veldts were most pious in their observances. An Old Testament spirit similar to that of the Puritans guided them. Their attitude toward the natives, however, was most unfortunate. Though so long here before the British conquest, they had done little but enslave them. The Reformed Church founded no missions among them. After the famous treks northward and the establishment of the Boer states they enslaved the natives without interference from British laws.

At the very dawn of the nineteenth century the London Missionary Society, in its infancy selected Cape Colony as a place to establish a mission. It gradually pushed northward, starting stations among the natives, British control being a protection and a help. But in questions between the natives and colonists these early missionaries caused trouble with the authorities since they sided with the natives in the quarrels, insistent for the rights of their converts.

A few years later than the London Mission, the

Wesleyans sending a missionary, Barnabas Shaw, to Ceylon, allowed him for some reason to stop at Cape Town and begin a mission. The natives to be numbered by the million were so numerous and the Europeans so few that most of the development of the religious life, at least in those decades, was in the mission field. Shaw wanted to open a mission among the natives under British and Dutch control but was forbidden by the governor. He had formed a beginning of his denomination already among the soldiers under the pious care of a sergeant. As he could not start a mission near Cape Town he decided to go beyond that control and treked northward. While doing so he was met by a chief from the tribe of Little Namacquas coming to the colony to obtain a missionary to work in his tribe. Mr. Shaw deeming this a call from Heaven, offered to go back with the chief to his people. He formed a most successful station among them, setting up industrial schools, teaching agriculture and mechanical trades, as well as the Bible. This case was comparable to those Indians who in the early history of St. Louis, Missouri, came from the far northwest coast in search of the Bible and the Christian religion.

As the various sections of the new state were being extended and settled, the Wesleyans in lack of other church organizations on the ground, were about the only ones to offer religious services to the Europeans. Making Grahamstown a kind of metropolitan city for themselves, they pushed their peculiar circuit system over all the provinces and far out among the natives.

A missionary spirit came strongly to many of the native converts. To teach Christianity to their fellow natives they went among members of their own tribes or to distant ones, sometimes to those who were bitterly hostile. One Aser on such a mission passed with three companions several hundred miles northward to Baniai. The passage without roads, across the plains, through forests and over unknown rivers was most difficult. Added to such difficulties and dangers were the greater ones from lions and other ferocious beasts. At night they had to climb trees to be safe from the prowling marauders. Success deserved by such daring and devotion was reached. Among their fellows they established a prosperous mission.

The Lovedale School, founded by William Govan, has had such success as to become known far beyond South Africa. While nominally under the Scot Presbyterian Church, it was wholly from the start non-sectarian, open to all people, whites and blacks working and studying together. It was one of the earliest cases of industrial schools to pagan people, the founder, through trustfulness and persistence in overcoming obstacles, finally making his idea a brilliant success. It was to be a pioneer and example not only in South Africa, where similar schools have been set up, but far from that locality many schools for the same purpose among backward peoples have proved the supreme worth of this man's leading.

Gradually the various missionary societies founded schools, some of them open to girls. To help these early beginnings the government gave grants in aid,



and often partly paid the teachers. After some decades this help was stopped. The wise governors saw the worth of schools, Clarendon as early as 1807 having them started. In 1820 the South African College was founded, being aided by the home government and by the people of the colonies. Sir George Grey, to start a library in town, gave a most valuable collection of rare books and choice manuscripts. To this gift others were added with an increase of literature and kindred accessories of a valuable public library. The twentieth century finds a hundred libraries in South Africa, eighty newspapers, a fine government college with arts department and those of law and medicine. There are also the colleges of the various denominations.

English speech instead of Dutch was required in official business, schools being opened in various towns to enable all to attain that tongue. In 1817, the immortal Moffat began his missionary tours far to the north, getting among the natives who knew little of civilization and cared less for it. War, rapine, their pagan rites, the awful practice of the witch doctor, made their condition most deplorable. These people, the Bantu race, were of the splendid South African natives known as the Zulus, Kafirs, the Metabals and others. They are not of the negro race of the central regions of the continent. They are of high mental powers, having proven themselves capable to a great degree of receiving western civilization. It is no wonder that Christian men and women from Great Britain, from the continent and from far-away America should press religious work among them.

Moffat's still more famous son-in-law, Livingstone, as the century reached its middle, pushed northward still beyond the trek of any missionary. The wanderlust possessed him. Northward among the wildest tribes he went, then westward to the Atlantic coast, returning, passed down the Zambesi finding Victoria Falls and opening the way for other Europeans. Hunters killing the huge ferocious beasts helped clear the way for missionaries, who following Moffat and Livingstone planted their stations yet toward Zambesi. Foremost of all was Livingstone, going far beyond the Zambesi, exploring the Lake Nyassa region, then westward to the fountains of the mighty Congo, there to die among his devoted blacks. How much he did to open the center of the continent to commerce and missions, to aid in closing that open sore of African curse, the Arab slave hunting, is not yet told. Missions have followed the track of the devoted explorer, and Central Africa has been opened from every side to the Christian religion and to modern progress.

If the Anglican Church was slow in setting up its organization outside the military stations, once established it did noble work. The growing towns were occupied by it nor did it stop with the British people but opened missions among the natives like the other denominations. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel aided the beginnings with money as did the Glasgow Society in Canada. The Episcopal See of Cape Town was set up in 1843, and four years later Bishop Gray was appointed to it by Letters Patent. This kind of an appointment by the home

government made him and his diocese free from the province of Canterbury, fortunately giving the colonial church freedom from many traditions and restrictions. Parishes were planned, schools established, colleges started, synods founded to be as valuable as in Canada.

The consecration of a colonial bishop at Cape Town, the right claimed by local authorities and allowed at home, led the way to a broader construction of the Anglican rules so that bishops were set apart for the vast Australasian domains as the church in those regions took form. At the first, to the Cape Town diocese were joined Mauritius, St. Helena, and other separated colonies. So successful was this denomination among the natives that the nineteenth century closed with its membership numbered by the ten thousand. Soon too a native chief was made a priest to be followed by other natives given ordination. The affair of Bishop Colenso at Natal which created quite a flurry in the theological world worked rather for the enlargement of the religious life in South Africa, for its freedom, as well as for freedom of religious thought. Colenso wrote some books not considered orthodox, his view of the Bible being considered heretical and the Metropolitan of Cape Town tried to depose him. To this action Colenso objected, as also to the rulings of the home church to which appeal was made. After much controversy he was excommunicated by the Cape Town Metropolitan and though he set up by himself and had a considerable following, he gradually fell out of sight. One gain was that the Colonial Church by its course

in the affair was declared to be free from the home church. This enabled it to work more freely in local matters and to become more efficient. The consecration there of the local bishop led to that of missionary bishops to Australasia, giving Patterson, Selwyn, Harrington, Tucker, Sturme and others to the unfolding work in those far regions.

Cape Colony was granted a legislature in 1854, after which the country was left mostly to govern itself. It was a lucky relief to the colony. It was fortunate in Sir George Grey as governor, sensible, pious, cultured. While his plans for a federation of the various colonies did not carry, they paved the way for such a union later on. Slavery abolished in all British dependencies in 1834 involved that of the subject Dutch, and of the twenty million pounds voted to indemnify slave owners, a million and a quarter were allowed Cape Colony. The slave owners were cheated out of much of this sum by dishonest agents in London where claims alone could be paid. Further on, after the great trek of the Boers and the founding of their new states, they held many natives in slavery.

So injurious to natives was the cheap brandy manufactured in great quantities and sold to them that vigorous steps were entered upon to stop its manufacture by the colonists and sale to the natives, but little came of it. The Cape wines were debarred in England in favor of the lighter French wines so that ruin stared the wine makers in the face. On this account the efforts for temperance were mostly futile, the material good of the colonists in financial

fields blocking the moral good for the natives. However, among the Fingoes, a tribe especially under the direction of the British, the Resident Captain Blythe persuaded some of the chiefs to give up strong drink and their example told finely on the people. Later legislation and popular opinion have mostly stopped the sale, thus protecting the natives from ruinous results.

With the two alluring finds of gold and diamonds in South Africa came a change big with destiny for that country. The mines of gold and diamonds were found in the territory of the Boers. Friction between the related peoples led to quarrels and notwithstanding modern enlightenment and the pacific influences of the Christian religion, war came. The history of the Boers, their treks and states founded by themselves, their heroic, sublime struggle against the giant power of Great Britain aroused a wave of sympathy for them the world over. Yet their conservatism stood in the way of best progress, of rights, freedom and Christianity. The dream of some far-seeing and enthusiastic Englishmen of a united, widespread Anglo-Saxon nation in South Africa, has, after they have passed to the beyond, come as a priceless reality, and South African union is a fact with its measureless blessings of civil and political and religious liberty.

## CHAPTER LII

Before real settlements were made for colonization in New Zealand three classes of European people had gone there. One of these were ship-loads of men in search of seals and whales, the waters about these islands teeming with these mammals. Such men, heedless of native rights though in some cases married to native women, regardless of Sundays, turning their harbors into a saturnalia on pay days, were in most part a pest yet in some ways did good. Then another class of British to come were escaped convicts from the Australian penal colonies who could in almost any craft make passage across the sea. Of course they were not desirable immigrants. Frequently associated with them were runaway sailors who, disliking their conditions on shipboard and the discipline, took French leave of their vessels, these men also not being very desirable settlers. The third class were missionaries. Here, early in the nineteenth century the call heard in so many other places by the Anglo-Saxon race was heeded.

The Anglican Church was early on the ground with its mission both to the natives and to the transients. So too the Wesleyans were early at work with their usual success. These pioneers were in due time followed by other missionaries so that the noble purpose to bring to the backward people the blessings of a better life was in operation. These missionaries

were very practical, bringing grain seeds, potatoes and other food starts for the eager Maoris. The story is told of a native returning from Europe bringing some wheat. How to raise bread from it was the puzzle. They had already seen potatoes dug from the ground and wondered if the new food was produced the same way, but pulling it up did not bring results. Letting some of it ripen they were at a loss how to prepare the grain. Finally with a hand mill from the missionaries they ground some of the wheat to flour and making crude bread of it without yeast were transported with joy at the new food and its promise of good eating.

The tales of toil among the Maoris have seldom been equaled by men engaged in any pursuit. The people to whom the missionaries went and for whom they sometimes gave their lives, were cannibals, were accustomed to infant murder, were at war most of the time between the clans and little tribes, and yet were full of splendid promise as the finest, most progressive of the Polynesian race met by Europeans. The fearless, tireless missionaries—what will not men risk to carry the gospel to the needy—went among this people, sometimes being present at their cannibal feasts, and other awful practices, but gradually obtained an influence over them for better things. Across mountain ranges afoot, through swamps overgrown with stiff, tall grasses, swimming flooded rivers, through lurking dangers from savage man, and from hidden evils of the country, the missionaries persisted in going. Seeing the great endurance and power for such exposure and toil by Bishop Selwyn, even the

natives said it was a gift of God to perform those labors.

If sometimes the evil-minded Europeans provoked the natives to plan and execute massacres, and bloody reprisals were made, the missionaries full of hope for the Maoris, held fast to their purpose of leading them to the better things of western life. The acute natives soon learning the difference between the drunken whalers and the devoted missionaries, would beg missionaries to come and settle among them. So with the Bible and faith, with aids of material things to help the natives in the upward climb, the missionaries of various churches went and usually met with most pleasing success. At the first the missionaries stood opposed both to the colonization of the country by English and its annexation to the Empire, but a movement on the part of French Catholics to colonize a section of the island caused the missionaries, in fear of the malign influence of those troublesome people, to seek annexation. The chiefs, led by the missionaries to accept this change, in a kind of national convention in 1840 ceded the islands to the Queen of England. Sir George Grey, passing from the governorship of Cape Colony, could say to the Maoris after only eight years of annexation, "Churches and schools have been established, lands have been plowed, mills have been built, great roads have been made, abundance prevails everywhere."

Some interesting attempts at colonizing took place in the new and attractive islands. One of these attempts was made on the south island by a company of Scot Presbyterians. It was to be wholly sectarian



and of a class of people such as the Scots would naturally gather, pious, intense, and aiming at most practical results. It did not succeed in creating a Utopia either religiously or socially, while its financial results were sparse and lingering. Later when gold was discovered on that island, with its attendant rush of miners and traders, the colony mostly lost its exclusive characteristics and finally became cosmopolitan. Another attempt at a specialized colony was made by the Anglican Church people. Perhaps it was with a kind of double reference that they called themselves Canterbury Pilgrims. This colony, like that of the Scots, was designed to be restricted to one sect and further to be a class colony to people of quality. Land was secured, farms and domains laid out, settlers came, but neither did this colony reach Utopian success. Indeed, the young colonial Anglo-Saxon has growing up in his breast a detestation of class distinction as well as of sectarian exclusiveness. This spirit has shown itself in politics, hence the eager strife in all the large colonies for legislatures and for government by themselves. Out of this spirit came the American independence. Later Canada led off in this spirit and purpose, having been followed by many legislative children of the British constitution.

Some of the missionaries before annexation had obtained large sections of land from the pliant and ignorant natives and this condition occasioned much friction. Finally adjustments were made by which the missionaries retained some of the lands and some were given up. The government to grant aid to the

schools, required industrial training. A steady improvement in education went on among both natives and colonists. All children from seven to thirteen were kept in school, and schools for girls were opened which were successfully used by them. There the girls were taught sewing and political economy besides their books, while boys, besides the ordinary studies, were put through military drill. The schools were made free, secular, and compulsory. As the New Zealand University was opened and carried on, one-third of the students were women and it is claimed that it is the first university in the British empire to confer degrees on women. As a reflex influence the home government recognized those degrees. In this matter that colony grandly followed the opportunities given women in the American universities.

This late colony of Great Britain is most progressive in spirit. More than sixty religious sects are represented with forty percent. of the church people belonging to the Anglicans, half as many to the Presbyterians, with many Catholics, Wesleyans, and other denominations. There is no established church. Here, as in South Africa, the Anglican Church is free from the home church. So progressive is this new state that in 1893 the franchise was granted women and this is found to be an important addition to rights. The Conservative party, not the Progressive, gave this franchise and "considered it a fair and logical act of justice." Women are not allowed a place in the colonial Parliament but are with the superior chances of education with increasing numbers entering the professions. They

fully use the ballot nor has it had any tendency to unsex them nor has the franchise caused any innovations in Parliamentary life. The principle of the prohibition of the liquor traffic and the use of strong drinks is steadily gaining ground. A unique method of arbitration between workmen and employers entered upon in 1894 has been found to act most admirably. Under it strikes have been sent to the limbo of unnecessary trouble, for by it both workmen and employers are protected. Trades unions are benefited and if there is a lingering fear among employers that in the long run the method is not to succeed, they seem to be the only ones with such misgivings.

The missionaries did in New Zealand what so many of them in other parts of the world have done for backward peoples, reduced the savage speech to written form, giving to the eager natives books and papers and the precious Bible. Not only is this work done by the devoted missionaries as a gift beyond computation to the native races, but philology has been enriched and the world at large been given wider information by these studies. Here with the native legends collected and put into print and thus preserved, was done what makes every student of history and of ethnology and of comparative religions delighted beyond measure.

The piety of the natives sometimes blended the old and the new. So eager were they for the book that told them of the new faith that they sometimes attributed superstitious powers to it. A party of English wanted to climb one of the imposing moun-

tains but were denied by the native chief having control of that locality because he said the mountain had been made sacred by their forefathers. Gold was offered but in vain. The chief said later that if the New Testament had been offered instead of gold the vow would have been released. The missionaries, as in South Africa, stood between the natives and the British and also knowing the speech and customs of the Maoris, were enabled to be interpreters between them when treaties and land sales were being made. In some instances the ability to be interpreters both of speech and of mutual claims of the two peoples led to peace where else had been war. After the remarkable Han Han fanaticism ended in which the natives tried in vain to drive the British out of their country there arose no serious difficulty that could not be allayed by the conciliatory missionaries.

Those two noble societies, that of Propagation, and that of Knowledge, greatly aided the Anglicans as in other colonies with money to start missions, build schools and colleges. The purpose was to reach all the Maoris with modern life through all the fourteen hundred miles' extension of the great group of islands. This was steadily done and so successfully that in no lengthened time practically all were converted to Christianity. A nation as under the vision of the Bible seer was born to God in a day.

Here, as had been done in Canada and in other colonies, the established Legislature and the Anglican Church proceeded to clear that denomination from

binding connection with the home church. In New Zealand the Anglican Church entered the twentieth century with six dioceses covering the whole extent of the island. Other denominations also pushed their work till all the Maoris, though a vanishing race, have been uplifted in all ways by the English. The view is presented of another great territory large enough for the home of an independent nation colonized by the restless Anglo-Saxons, a country of most varied climate and productions, open to all, with superior rights, free churches, untrammelled freedom, and universal equality.

## CHAPTER LIII

Under the Southern Cross was established in the nineteenth century another great colonial nation of the British Empire. Australia followed Canada. There was a virgin continent with its extended coast and wide inland expanse, having climate varying between tropical heat and temperate coolness. It was the fairest opportunity ever offered a people to found a nation. If the beginnings of colonization in United States were tainted with wrong notions of Cavalier, of Pilgrim and of Puritan, there was little of the virus of old notions taken to this latest colony. The slight urgency for aristocratic standing was brushed aside by the high democratic spirit of the settlers, and the claim at first put in by the Anglican precedence was compelled to yield to the rights of the free churches.

Yet the beginnings of colonizing in Australia were with the worst classes of population. Penal establishments were the first form of settlement. Such establishments were urged as "an asylum in which felons could be cheaply kept, and from which there could be no possibility of escape." So on the new shores, even before the eighteenth century closed, criminals by the ship load were dumped whom England could not take care of in her jails and prisons. It was considered good riddance to bad rubbish. Stern military officers with their heartless soldiery were their armed guards. The formal ceremonies

of religion poorly met the restless spirit engendered by their home crimes and their strange colonial outlook. They continued vicious and insubordinate. Some escaped to the natives, others hid in the bush to die of exposure and starvation and a few became helpful in their attempts at prosperity.

The need was for real settlers of upright character and industrious habits with knowledge of farming and stock raising. Money from the sale of public lands was used to aid immigration. Along with these emigrants went the ministers of the denominations and soon churches of their faith were everywhere in evidence. West of the coast of New South Wales plains of almost boundless extent awaited the stock raiser. Most of the settlers upon those cattle ranches and sheep runs grew rich and with their wealth took many of the amenities of modern life. Not only did they take books and music and elegances with them, but they helped the settlement of the preacher and of the schoolmaster among them.

Ministers were compelled, as in the early history of United States and Canada, to become itinerants in following the scattered families far into the wilds. The diary of J. D. Merriweather is preserved in the libraries, who, as an itinerant of the Anglican Church, went into the stock-raising regions to perform the offices of his denomination to the people he could find. The pastoral region given this man by the Bishop included all between one hundred forty and one hundred seventy-nine degrees of longitude and between thirty-four and thirty-six

degrees south latitude. Hither, thither he went, afoot, by canoe of slenderest structure, in danger of starvation, of being lost on the plains or in the bush, liable to be drowned in the overflowing rivers, and of being submerged in the treacherous bogs. Now he would have seven to hear him read the church services, again nine, then he would find some Englishman out in a herder's hut alone or with one helper, one to watch in the daytime the other to guard the stock by night. On long itineraries he went, to baptize those needing that rite, to marry the young couples, to bury the dead. A year of such toil injured his health so he was compelled to give it up. He could record that "one needed physical strength, with moral determination, and must look for approval to a Higher Power than his fellow man."

He came into little contact with the natives. These had mostly been killed off by the restless settlers or driven farther into the bush. The story of the Australian natives is not a pleasant one to the student of history. As soon as the convicts and colonists were established at Sydney they began maltreating the poor people, killing them on the slightest provocation, destroying their canoes along the beach and in many ways provoking retaliation. As the natives were a very feeble folk they were unable to defend themselves as the Maoris of New Zealand or the Redskins of America. As the stock raisers occupied the plains for grazing, the wild animals upon which the natives mostly relied for food were killed off or driven beyond the reach even of the



scattered aborigines. Then to obtain food the famishing natives turned pilferers of the sheep cotes, of hen yards, gardens and granaries, so provoking the pioneers as to be shot down like voracious beasts. Organized hunts like those to destroy wolves in western America were formed, it is said, on which the natives, men, women and children, were killed at sight. In Queensland they were sometimes flogged like abject slaves.

But let it be said to the praise of certain new settlers that limited attempts at better things were made. Some of the British turned missionaries to the natives, though they were so scattered and of such nomadic habits that sometimes a mission station after a while would be left without a native, or a pupil in the school. A few schools near the large cities were set up in which a limited success was reached in civilizing those most savage people. Food and blankets were distributed by some of the colonial governments to them, as if in compensation for the kangaroos and wombats driven out by the sheep herders and cattle men.

As could be expected in a convict settlement the use of strong drinks was a most dreadful curse. At first little effort was made to keep them away from either convicts or natives, since a most lucrative trade in them arose. But such disorder and crime came of the use of liquor that the government passed most drastic laws against its coming into the new settlements and its sale or transfer to the black fellows. Pity it is that such a barbarism should persist in Christian civilization. As early as 1801,

the Hawkesbury settlers as an outcome of their dissolute habits sought to have the courts so arranged that creditors could not attain judgments. Early at Botany Bay, the excessive use of liquors by the settlers produced such wild conduct as greatly to depress the good purpose of the colony. As Queensland took colonial form and grew, a law of local option was enacted with good results. The modern efforts for temperance, the Good Templars, Teetotal Associations, Bands of Hope, Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and other organizations with the same object in view, have been in active operation throughout all Australasia. Possibly the churches have not been as pronounced for temperance as they should have been.

An experiment for caring for juvenile dependents has been undertaken and appears full of promise. Instead of putting them in asylums or reformatories in masses, they are put out into families, one or two or three at a place, still the wards of the government. Philanthropic people serve as committees to look after these boarders, making reports to government authorities. So far this system has been most valuable. In many instances the children are so liked that they are adopted by the people holding them. Indeed, as could be guessed would be done in this latest Anglo-Saxon nation, great attention has been paid to the needs of the vagrant young, the poverty smitten, the vicious, the flotsam and jetsam of modern times. Asylums have been built for the deaf and dumb, for the weak minded, for the insane, for the unprotected. Care has been

taken to make these institutions pleasant and helpful to the unfortunate occupants. One has the sweet name of Hazelwood. About it are gardens, orange groves, vineyards, these helping in the kindly care given the inmates. Proper boards in connection with the governments of the various colonies have looked after these benevolent institutions, showing paternalism in this and many other ways as the highest duty of government. As early as 1852, a society in Sydney was formed to save the street arabs, the interest so increasing that in no lengthening time buildings were erected in which a thousand children could be cared for. Teachers were employed for these children and great care was taken to make good people out of the waifs. An orphan asylum was built at Parramatta with Sisters of Charity putting in their kind ministries with good results. Ragged schools attended to the wants of such children as could be induced to attend them. Christian philanthropy passed by none. To teach the spirit of economy, savings banks where children could deposit a part of their earnings have been established and the children taught to lay up money for the needs of later days.

Among those far-sighted pioneers in a new continent education has held an important place. The imperfect modes of England's educators were at first loosely followed and the missionaries of the various sects, aware of the needs of schools, had established them which the government for some decades aided with grants of money. But this was a fruitful cause of friction and by the third quarter of the

century had mostly ceased, free secular schools only receiving government aid. Attendance on these is compulsory. Illiterates are few. Universities have been founded, the one at Sydney as early as 1851, and are affiliated with the British universities. A system for carrying out modern needs has been successfully entered upon all over Australia,—the establishment of Mechanical Institutes. They have been set up by the score under the governments. In them are taught many forms of industry, technical, mechanical, arts, mining and others. To a race as strenuous for work as ours such institutes must yield vast good. Besides these, evening schools are common for adults unable to attend the other ones.

Before the middle of the century the convict system came to an end. In 1836, of the two hundred thousand people in New South Wales one-half were convicts. The free settlers did not want the fair promise being wrought out with painful experience to be poisoned any longer with that system. The arrival of the last load or two sent to Sydney almost caused a riot and they were permitted to land only when definitely hired to some of the people. To be relieved of the incubus that had weighted down the fair land for half a century was an unspeakable relief. Gradually the freed ones had become mostly absorbed in the better society grown up. But so pressing was the demand for labor that for a time Indian coolies and Chinese laborers and Polynesian islanders were imported, especially in Queensland, often to receive treatment little better than in downright slavery. The outcry against the

system has called for modifications in it to the relief of those human beings.

Judging from the great number of communicants, from the church buildings, from missions of various kinds, it can be seen that a great majority of the people going to Australia have been pious ones. Census returns have shown the Anglican Church to be the most numerous, with Catholics standing next, followed by the Wesleyans and Presbyterians, while Independents, Baptists, and other sects by the score have many people attending their churches. Preachers of the various faiths have covered all the settled portions of the continent with the teachings of the Bible. One visiting Sydney, Adelaide, Perth, and other important cities is impressed by the magnificent cathedrals of those denominations putting up such structures, and he is delighted with the beauty of the churches of the sects less pretentious in their buildings. As he approaches lesser towns along the coast or inland the church buildings and their heaven-pointing spires attract the vision at the earliest moment. To attend those various places of worship is to find them full of devout persons. Before the century was three-fourths passed all state aid to the various churches ceased, so that in the colonies organized with legislatures of their own, no established church is allowed but all are free. This gives the religious consciousness its coveted liberty and the right it knows to be its own for free development. Dioceses have been cut out by the Anglicans and Catholics and the country covered with these plans. Synods and Con-

ferences and Conventions mark the complete organization of other denominations. Most efficient is the religious state under such active church life carried on in sympathetic fraternity. In all the public schools religious instruction from the Bible is in some way required. Country life, as could be expected, has in many ways been made bright and sweet by the cultured, devout men and women going to the isolated work of ranchers. The cosy chapel on the great estate, attractive to the large number of people employed, the music played by the wife or daughter of the cattle ranger, the country choir of no mean capacity, offset the restrictions and hard toil, the lonely location and the absence of more stirring city life. At such stations the rancher, if no minister comes to him, frequently reads the service and guides the religious hour.

The richest kind of gold deposits found about the middle of the century, brought a vast inrush of miners. The government was poorly prepared to deal with such masses of people, the churches could but illy meet the calls that arose. Vice multiplied. Robbery and murder made the country unsafe for travel and traffic. But the very effort to clear the country of such disorderly conditions and elements no doubt helped the colonies for the last great act in the nineteenth century for Australia, its federation.

Australia's seven provinces, after suggestions from governors and others, planned a convention in 1891 at Sydney. The plans were patterned much after United States. This plan would give the

highest political rights, national, religious, social, personal. The Parliament, as was planned, was not permitted to make any laws hindering the free exercise of religion or to make any religious test. To every person was given an equal share in political power, thus insuring the rights of individuals. These recommendations to the home government were gradually worked out toward the complete federation.

What kind of people do all these kind gifts of the Heavenly Father produce? Shaped by democracy, with an open field and wide vision, granted free religion and free speech, made free also from some old world conservatism and exclusive notions, the Australian of the twentieth century is self-possessed, recognizes his equality to any other human being, is brave, loyal, devout, a person of brawn and brain, of faith and confidence. He is a man, one fashioned by the development through vast generations of natural attainments, and by thirteen centuries of Christian gifts and growth.





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